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WEBSTER'S SPEECHES

A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REVIEW

BY CLIFFORD B. CLAPP

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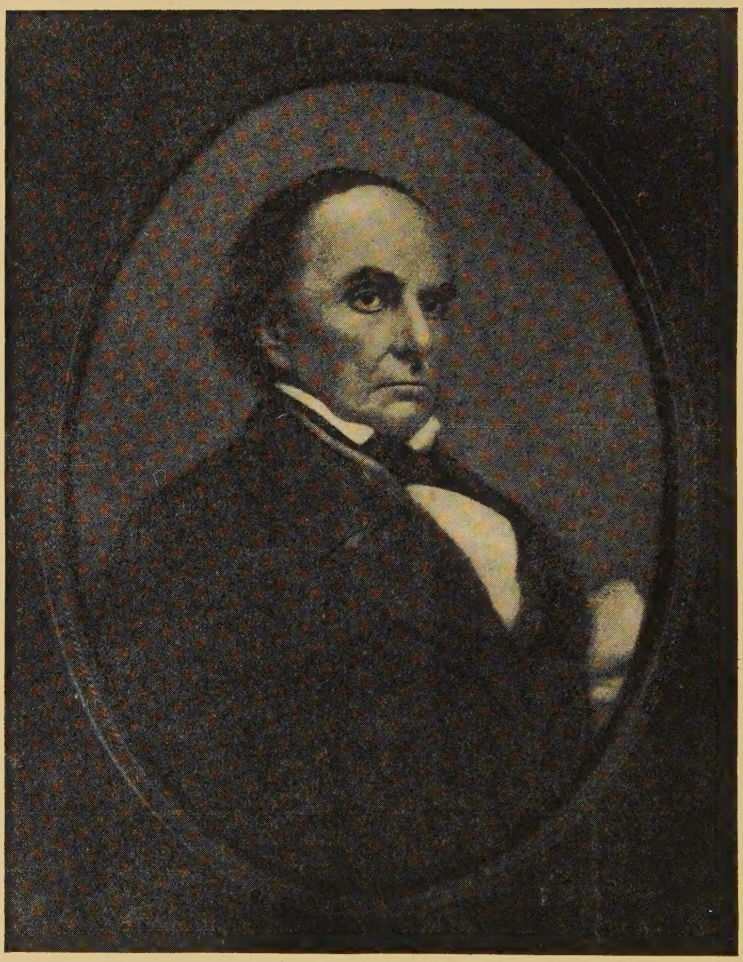

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DANIEL WEBSTER

From a daguerreotype, not heretofore reproduced, taken when he was about fifty-six years of age.

THE SPEECHES OF DANIEL WEBSTER: A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REVIEW

BY CLIFFORD BLAKE CLAPP

INTEREST in Webster literature begins where interest in "Americana" often ends, with 1800. Daniel Webster's speeches and writings extend over a little more than half a century, those of each decade seeming to have—roughly, it must be admitted—a peculiar characteristic. Separate editions of those of the first two decades are nearly all rarities; but, while some editions of the succeeding periods are seldom found, many of the later items were issued in large numbers, extensively collected, and carefully saved. Probably when general interest is aroused in Webster literature, much of this material will be brought to light from its many hiding-places. But neither the scarcity nor the frequent occurrence of any editions need deter recording or collecting; for the work of few Americans of the nineteenth century is so well worth study, and a certain inspiration comes from the knowledge and possession of the literature in its original form. It is from this point of view, largely, that the present review is written, with the hope of inspiring wider interest in the subject, and with the aim of drawing forth information concerning the printed material nearest the source and suggestions regarding its relation to Webster's career and to the national life.

The most recent bibliography of Webster is that by Mark Van Doren, in the second volume of the *Cambridge History of American Literature* (1918). The most useful all-around bibliography of Webster that had previously been printed between covers was the brief one in Professor Ogg's *Daniel Webster* (1914), listing about fifty Webster titles and many accessory works. The card catalogues of several libraries embraced long lists of titles, usually badly arranged even if professedly alphabetical, owing to the variety of titles assumed by identical speeches and to various methods of cataloguing; and the printed indexes to periodicals and general literature contained a large number of entries. But the longest printed lists of a general nature were those in the following library catalogues, the number of separates only being specified in most cases: the Boston Athenaeum (1882), with over 150 titles, more than a third being titles of Webster's own works; the Massachusetts State Library (1880) and supplements in *Reports* (1881–1909), with 115 titles, 47 being of Webster's works; the Peabody Institute, Baltimore (1892 and 1905), with about 100 titles, mostly biographies or collections of speeches; the New Hampshire State Library (1902) and Supplement (1904), with about 65 titles, nearly all of them titles of Webster's own works. For a good general bibliography, the *Bulletin* of the Salem (Massachusetts) Public Library, VI, 4 (October, 1901), with nearly 50 titles, is very useful.

The chronological index to the *Writings and Speeches* (1903), edited by J. W. McIntyre, together with remarks

distributed throughout the 18 volumes, is practically a bibliography, and this edition and the two volumes of Curtis' *Life of Daniel Webster* (1870) contain the greater part of what is known about the occasions, original sources, and form of Webster's speeches. In Webster's correspondence there is comment on the circumstances attending the publication and reception of some speeches and collections, and Professor McMaster has drawn additional information from other contemporary sources, such as the press of the time.

Yet it is pleasant to record that Mr. Van Doren's bibliography reaches a new level by listing about 350 Webster titles or sources, perhaps 85 being separate titles of Webster's own works, and by specifying in some cases several editions of single titles. This is the best reference bibliography of Daniel Webster. A list of this kind is the beginning of the thorough study of the formal side of a man's literary output. From this we must go on to the complete list of Webster material, separate and analytical, which will comprise double the number of entries collected up to the present time; and then proceed to a complete descriptive bibliography.

One hundred years ago, through the prestige attached to the winning of the Dartmouth College Case, Daniel Webster became a national character. In the decade and a half next succeeding, he delivered in rapid succession those remarkable orations that will always be remembered. The dignity of his character was evident, his enthusiasm was never more ardent, his imagination was

working on a lofty plane, his intellect was very keen. The celebrity consequent upon his *Reply to Hayne* led to the immediate publication of the first considerable collection of his speeches; and the earliest works of a biographical nature appeared about the same time.

The *Speeches and Forensic Arguments.* Boston: Perkins & Marvin, and Gray & Bowen; New York: Jonathan Leavitt, 1830 (pp. viii+25–520), was republished with an additional volume: Boston: Perkins, Marvin, & Co.; Philadelphia; Henry Perkins, 1835; and a third volume was added later: Boston: Tappan and Dennet, 1843; the work going through at least eight so-called editions up to 1848. The *Diplomatic and Official Papers* were published in New York by Harper and Brothers in 1848 (392 pp.), edited by his private secretary, Charles Lanman. The collection of his speeches that is most generally known and that has given very great service was edited by Edward Everett and entitled *The Works of Daniel Webster.* Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1851 (6 vols.; many succeeding editions).

For letters other than official there have appeared three collections: *The Private Correspondence of Daniel Webster. Edited by Fletcher Webster.* Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1857 (2 vols.), republished in Vols. 17 and 18 of the "National Edition"; Professor C. H. Van Tyne's *The Letters of Daniel Webster.* New York: McClure, Phillips & Co., 1902 (22+769 pp.); and the *Letters Hitherto Uncollected*, published as Vol. 16 of the "National Edition." This "National Edition," which is

the almost complete and wholly admirable collection of Webster's works edited by J. W. McIntyre, is *The Writings and Speeches of Daniel Webster*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.; New York: J. F. Taylor & Co., 1903 (18 vols.). The mass of Webster's writings collected in this edition, says Dr. Fisher, "give one an impression of intellectual power, which, I think, would be hard to match anywhere in the history of law and politics."

As a review of the *Speeches and Forensic Arguments*, there appeared in Vol. IX of the *American Quarterly Review*, in 1831, an article that was reprinted the same year under the title *Remarks on the Life and Writings of Daniel Webster*. Philadelphia: Carey & Lea (as reprinted, 48 pp.). We must read a bit from this article if we are to appreciate the humor attending the concealment of the authorship. The anonymous author says, on page 4 of the book, "We were, therefore, disappointed, on opening the volume of his works, not to find prefixed to it a full biographical notice of him. We were, indeed, so much disappointed and felt so fully persuaded, that neither the contents of the volume itself, nor the sources of its author's power, nor his position before the nation, could be properly comprehended without it, that we determined at once to prepare such notices of his life, as we might be able to collect under unfavorable circumstances. We only regret that our efforts have not been more successful,—and that our notices, therefore, are few and imperfect." The work is credited to George Ticknor on the evidence of letters by Webster and Ticknor, and

the amusing thing is that Ticknor had been an intimate friend of Webster for many years, and that Webster himself approved the review and advised regarding its reprint in book form.[1] Probably the real "unfavorable circumstances" consisted in Ticknor's embarrassment by his nearness to the great subject. The article, while not a life, is an exceptionally good review. It is mentioned here, along with a couple of other publications, as the earliest attempts in public text to portray Webster to his countrymen.

The year before Ticknor's work there was published a book called *Sketches of Public Characters, by Ignatius Loyola Robertson.* New-York: E. Bliss, 1830. This work, in reality by Samuel Lorenzo Knapp, an editor and author somewhat addicted to whimsical subterfuges, consists of pretended letters, and Letter I, on pp. [5]–29, beginning "Washington, Jan. 1830," is on Daniel Webster. The title is mentioned in the Contents, and the running headlines are "Webster," but there is no caption title. This sketch was republished with the title *A Memoir of the Life of Daniel Webster. By Samuel L. Knapp.* Boston: Stimpson and Clapp, 1831 (2+234 pp.); and a second edition, "Revised and brought down to the present time," appeared in New York: J. S. Redfield, 1835 (108 pp.).

The other early biographical publication, mentioned above, is a pamphlet of 16 pages, of unknown date and

[1] Curtis, *Life of Daniel Webster* (1870), I, 408–10; *Writings and Speeches*, XVI, 208–9.

origin, but showing some internal evidence that it was probably sent out for campaign purposes about the time Webster was first mentioned for the presidency. It bears the simple title *Daniel Webster* and begins, "Publications have, at different periods, issued from the press," ending, "the good Providence which overrules the destinies of States and of Empires." The only copies so far noted are in the Dartmouth College and Newberry libraries.

The best-known biographies of Webster are those by Everett, Raymond, Lanman, Curtis, Harvey, Lodge, Hapgood, McMaster, Fisher, and Ogg. It is impossible here to give credit to the other writers of biographical works, most of which were eulogies, essays, or sketches, but some of which deserve the name of "lives." The flood of eulogies, chiefly in 1852 and 1853, was remarkable. The Philadelphia Mercantile Library's *Bulletin* for July, 1883, contained the *Bibliographia Websteriana* (reprinted separately), the well-known list of these eulogies compiled by Charles Henry Hart, recording 72 titles. Of these the one by Rufus Choate is the most noteworthy. Of Choate's eulogy, *A Discourse Delivered before the Faculty, Students, and Alumni of Dartmouth College*, there were two editions, both published in Boston and Cambridge by James Munroe and Company in 1853; the one mentioned in Hart's list has 100 pages and is the more desirable of the two, although perhaps the commoner; and the other is an edition of 88 pages. Anyone who is interested in Choate's oration ought also to read Rev. Charles

Caverno's *Reminiscences of the Eulogy of Rufus Choate on Daniel Webster* (1914).

Edward Everett, co-worker and friend of Webster, with exceptional opportunity for judging his subject, wrote what Curtis calls "a beautiful and carefully written biographical memoir." This seems to have been the result of an introduction furnished by Everett to the second volume of the *Speeches and Forensic Arguments*, Webster asking in letters written March 21, 1847, and January 8, 1851, that it be revised and extended to apply to a new edition of all his speeches.[1] This new edition, containing Everett's biographical introduction, was *The Works of Daniel Webster* (1851; and other editions), in 6 volumes. The memoir, again extended, appears also in the "National Edition" (1903). Everett also delivered a eulogy in Boston in 1859. Raymond's work was a remarkable example of nimble journalism. It appeared first in the *New York Daily Times* of October 25, 1852, and then in two editions in book form. Lanman wrote on *The Private Life of Daniel Webster* (1852) from knowledge gained as his private secretary. George Ticknor Curtis, one of Webster's literary executors, produced in his *Life of Daniel Webster* (1870; several editions) a monument to the statesman's memory which has been the *vade mecum* for all later biographers. It has been somewhat of a custom to distrust Harvey's *Reminiscences and Anecdotes* (1877; and later editions), while making considerable use of his material; but Dr. Fisher, in explaining this tend-

[1] *Writings and Speeches*, XVI, 471–73, and XVIII, 411.

ency, comes to his defense.[1] The *Daniel Webster* of Senator Henry Cabot Lodge has been considered since its appearance the standard biography for general use. Its eminent author for a number of years has stood in general estimation as the living authority on Webster. But *The True Daniel Webster* by Sidney George Fisher certainly competes well in all respects with Senator Lodge's work and deserves its title for its pronounced fair-mindedness. Norman Hapgood's little book (1899) is remarkable for its success as a biography both because of and in spite of its brevity. In the life by John Bach McMaster (1902) there is some new material, gathered from contemporary sources. Frederick Austin Ogg (1914) produced a concise political discussion of Webster's career, somewhat less personal than the works of Lodge and Fisher.

In 1829 Webster wrote a brief, entertaining, and illuminating autobiographical sketch, extending, however, only to 1817. This has been used by his biographers for many details of his early years. In the few pages of this *Autobiography* the main points touched on are his parentage, his birth on a farm in 1782, his education in the local schools, at Exeter Academy, and at Dartmouth College, his teaching at Fryeburg to maintain in college the brother Ezekiel—afterward an able lawyer—who had done so much for him, his private reading, his first literary ventures, and his early political work. This account is to be found with *The Private Correspondence*, both in the

[1] Fisher, *The True Daniel Webster*, pp. vii–xiv.

original and in the "National" editions. The account of the private reading is noteworthy. A most interesting and perhaps significant fact of Webster's Exeter period was the timidity that kept him from speaking before the school. "Mr. Buckminster always pressed, and entreated, most winningly, that I would venture; but I could never command sufficient resolution. When the occasion was over, I went home and wept bitter tears of mortification."[1]

Daniel Webster's first literary productions were his contributions to the *Dartmouth Gazette* from 1799 to 1801, a list of which will be found in the *Writings and Speeches*, XVI, 3. His earliest printed speech was *An oration, pronounced at Hanover, New-Hampshire, the 4th Day of July, 1800; being the twenty-fourth anniversary of American independence. By Daniel Webster, member of the Junior Class, Dartmouth University. . . .* Hanover: Moses Davis, 1800 (15 pp.). This first edition is very scarce, but there are copies in the Library of Congress, at Harvard, Newberry, the New York Public, and elsewhere. The oration was republished in Raymond and Lyman's *Life and Memorials of Daniel Webster* (1853), and in Loring's *Hundred Boston Orators* (1852; 4th ed., 1855). As a separate it was reprinted in 1884 as a supplement to the *Bay State Monthly* and the *Granite Monthly*, at a time when these two periodicals were both published by John N. McClintock and Company. The *Granite Monthly* published as its July-August and September-October numbers, respec-

[1] *Private Correspondence* (1857), I, 10.

tively, the April and May numbers of the *Bay State Monthly*, omitting four pages of the latter. With the April number of the one magazine and the July-August number of the other was given the type-set facsimile of the oration; it is mentioned on page 263 of the duplicate issues. This juvenile federalistic speech, with Webster's next boyish effort, a eulogy, the reader can safely call "florid" or "splurgy" without referring to Professor Ogg or Dr. Fisher or any other authority; and yet it undoubtedly has praiseworthy points.

The eulogy bears the title *A Funeral Oration, Occasioned by the Death of Ephraim Simonds, of Templeton, Massachusetts, a Member of the Senior Class in Dartmouth College; who died at Hanover, (N.H.) on the 18th of June 1801, æt. 26. By Daniel Webster, a class-mate of the deceased. "Et vix sustinuit dicere lingua Vale!"* Hanover: Moses Davis, 1801 (13 pp.). Curtis tells us that Webster, in 1820, having learned that Ticknor had a copy of this eulogy, said, "I thought, till lately, that, as only a few copies of it were printed, they must all have been destroyed long ago; but, the other day, Bean, who was in college with me, told me he had one. It flashed through my mind that it must have been the last copy in the world, and that if he had it in his pocket it would be worth while to kill him, to destroy it from the face of the earth."[1] But the anonymous author of an article in *Old and New*, VIII, No. 1, July, 1873, writing on "Traces in Print of Daniel Webster's Work in College," says that four copies

[1] Curtis, I, 40, note.

were known to have survived. Some certainly exist today, there being copies in the Dartmouth College and the New York Historical Society libraries, and elsewhere, but it is very scarce. The Simonds eulogy was reprinted in two editions in 1855. One of these, Hanover: The Dartmouth Press, April, 1855 (10 pp.), with the misprint "Tempeton" in the title, is not rare; the other, Salisbury: W. H. B. Currier, 1855 (8 pp.), is very scarce, but there is a copy in the New York Public Library.

Another address delivered at Dartmouth College in 1801 by Webster is not known to have been issued as a pamphlet, but there is deposited in the Dartmouth College Library a volume of speeches by Webster skilfully and curiously inlaid, in which this speech exists in the similitude of a separately printed work. As arranged, it has caption title reading in part *An Oration on Opinion . . . . at the Anniversary of the United Fraternity*, with the text in nine single columns, the first line in black letter. On the back of this, by holding it to the light, can be seen the text of some edition, not recognized, of the Fourth of July oration of 1800. This copy of the United Fraternity oration is probably, like another work in the same volume, a well-contrived imitation of a separate.

In 1802, while teaching at Fryeburg, Maine, Webster delivered an oration that escaped print for eighty years. The manuscript of this was discovered in a junk shop in Boston long after Webster's death. It was issued in two forms, one spoken of as the "plain edition" and entitled

Newly discovered Fourth of July oration . . . . now for the first time given to the public. Boston: A. Williams & Co.; Fryeburg, Me.: A. F. & C. W. Lewis, 1882 (16 pp.). It has a portrait of Webster and views of the old academy building and the old church where Webster spoke. The other edition is *The Illustrated Fryeburg Webster Memorial.* Fryeburg, Me.: A. F. & C. W. Lewis, 1882 (39 pp.), which has the same text as the "plain edition" with the addition of 23 pages and three plates, much of the additional matter being biographical.

In the year 1809 Webster delivered at Dartmouth College a Phi Beta Kappa address on *The State of Our Literature*, but this is not known to have been separately published. During this first decade he was also connected with the honored little group of literary adventurers who published *The Monthly Anthology*, and who were the forerunners of the Boston Athenæum and of the *North American Review.* Webster's share in the literary efforts of the group is mentioned on pages 209 and 321–23 of the Anthology Society's *Journal*, edited by M. A. DeWolfe Howe and published by the Boston Athenæum in 1910.

It was as a Federalist that Daniel Webster began his political career, and the earlier writings and speeches are consonant with the attitude of his party. His first political publication was *An Appeal to the Old Whigs of New-Hampshire* n.p., [1805] (16 pp.). It is signed on page 15: "An old Whig. February—1805." Webster, in his *Autobiography*, errs in placing this in 1804. Curtis, Lodge, Fisher, and Ogg have all placed it in this year,

following Webster, but the latter says of it, on January 19, 1806, in a letter to his friend Bingham, "Last year I wrote a political pamphlet. . . . ."[1] The date is correct in the "National Edition." The next known pamphlet is *An Anniversary Address, Delivered before the Federal Gentlemen of Concord and Its Vicinity, July 4th, 1806.* Concord, N.H., George Hough, 1806 (21 pp.). In several places this has typographical errors, and it will therefore be well to compare copies for variations. Two years later, directed against the policy of the Democrats, came Webster's anonymous *Considerations on the Embargo Laws* n.p., n.d. (16 pp.), "the principal thesis of which was the unconstitutionality of an embargo measure not expressly limited in duration."[2]

On June 18, 1812, by act of Congress war was declared with Great Britain. "July 4th—barely more than two weeks later—Webster delivered a speech which, marking as it did in a very real sense his entrance of the political arena, was easily the most important of his career to this point."[3] This speech against "Mr. Madison's war" was entitled *An Address Delivered before the Washington Benevolent Society, at Portsmouth, July 4, 1812.* Portsmouth, N.H.: Oracle Press, William Treadwell, n.d. (27 pp.).

This was soon followed by the bibliographically more interesting *Rockingham Memorial*, which, in recent opinion, contained much of the power of argument that

[1] *Private Correspondence*, I, 221.

[2] Ogg, *Daniel Webster*, p. 76.

[3] Ogg, p. 77.

characterized his maturer years. "There are passages in it that almost convince us that the old Federalists may have been right."[1] "The tone of the memorial was dignified, courteous, and moderate; but the protest against the war was firm."[2] This Rockingham Memorial, as it is usually called, masquerades under the title *Speech of the Hon. George Sullivan, at the Late Rockingham Convention, with the Memorial & Resolutions, and Report of the Committee of Elections.* Concord: George Hough, September, 1812. (31 pp.). The first edition collates:

p. [1], [title-page]; p. [2], [blank]; p. [3], [under heading, not followed by date,] Meeting of the Friends of Peace [a paragraph giving some circumstances of the meeting "holden at Brentwood, on Wednesday Aug. 5, 1812"]; pp. [3]–17, Speech [of Sullivan]; p. 17, [brief details of proceedings]; pp. 18–27, Memorial. Daniel Webster, Esq. [and 14 others named] having been appointed a Committee to prepare a Memorial to the President of the United States, reported the following, which was unanimously accepted. To James Madison, Esquire, President of the United States. [The memorial, written by Webster, is signed at the end by Samuel Tenney, Chairman, and William A. Kent, Secretary]; pp. 28–30, Resolutions; p. 31, Committee of elections. . . . . For electors. . . . . For representatives. . . . . [the first of the six names under the latter head being "Daniel Webster, Esq. of Portsmouth"].

This was followed probably at once by an edition having nearly the same title, varying: . . . . *memorial*

[1] Fisher, p. 122.

[2] Ogg, p. 80.

and resolutions . . . . Second edition. Exeter: The Constitutionalist Press, E. C. Beals, n.d. (30 pp.).

p. [1], [title-page]; p. [2], [blank]; p. [3], [under heading] Meeting of the Friends of Peace [and date] Exeter, August 8th, 1812 [a paragraph differing from that on page [3] of the Concord edition only in some instances of punctuation, in the insertion of the *u* in "honourable," and in the statement, "holden at Brentwood, on Wednesday last."]; pp. [3]–16, Speech [of Sullivan]; pp. 16–17, [brief details of proceedings]; pp. 17–27, Memorial. Daniel Webster, Esq. . . . . [etc.]; pp.27–29, Resolutions; p. 30, Elections. . . . For electors. . . . For representatives. . . .

Webster was elected to Congress in 1812. Continuing the Federalist policy, he introduced *Mr. Webster's motion calling for information touching the French decree purporting to be a repeal of the Berlin and Milan decrees. June 10, 1813. Ordered to lie on the table.* Washington: A. & G. Way, 1813. (4 pp.).

Regarding Webster's next published speech, "the first speech in Congress by Mr. Webster which was fully reported,"[1] Dr. Fisher says: "In Congress, Webster's most conspicuous effort was directed to securing the passage of a set of resolutions calling on Madison's administration to explain when and how the repeal of the French decrees had been communicated to our government." Professor Ogg says that on January 14, 1814, "Webster, who thus far had participated in the debate but incidentally, rose to deliver a speech which

[1] *Writings and Speeches*, XIV, 18, note.

easily surpassed all his earlier efforts and touched, indeed, the high-water mark of his oratory during his first period of congressional service. . . . . The florid style which had marred earlier speeches had now virtually disappeared and in its stead was simplicity, directness, deliberation." This speech was published in four editions:

Speech of the Hon. Daniel Webster, delivered in the House of Representatives of the United States, on the 14th January, 1814, on a bill making further provision for filling the ranks of the regular army, encouraging enlistments, and authorising the enlistments for longer periods of men whose terms of service are about to expire. Exeter: Constitutionalist office, 1814. (15 pp.).

——[SAME TITLE] Alexandria: Snowden & Simms, 1814. (13 pp.).

——[SAME TITLE varying in punctuation, and as follows, brackets occurring]: *Speech of the Hon. Daniel Webster,* [*of N.H.*] *delivered in the House of Representatives of the U. States,* . . . . Keene, N.H.: John Prentiss, 1814. (15 pp.).

——[SAME TITLE as the first edition, varying]: *Speech of the Hon. Daniel Webster, Esq. delivered* . . . . *January 14, 1814,* . . . . Portsmouth: Charles Turell, 1814. (15 pp.).†

This seems to be one of the two speeches that Professor McMaster, calling it "the first of his many celebrated speeches," says that Chief Justice Marshall praised many

†Titles followed by a dagger have not been compared with the originals in the preparation of this paper.

years later on failing to find them in the *Speeches and Forensic Arguments*. The other one, delivered four days earlier, on Robert Wright's resolutions, was not separately published, but a résumé of it is given in *Writings and Speeches*, XIV, 11–13. It is of especial interest in these days, because it deals with the law of punishment of illegal aid to the enemy.

The Great War just ending has brought out in separate form another speech never before printed by itself. The title reads, with punctuation inserted . . . . *Daniel Webster on the draft; text of a speech delivered in Congress, December 9, 1814. Reprinted from "The Letters of Daniel Webster," edited by C. H. Van Tyne.* . . . . Washington, D.C.: American Union against Militarism, [1917]. ([11] pp.). An explanatory note, p. [1], declares that the United States did not enact drastic draft laws during the War of 1812, as had been stated, and that "This argument of Webster's, coming from the ablest constitutional lawyer in Congress, contributed materially to its defeat." This use of Webster's 1814 argument against the selective draft of 1917 resulted in a letter by Dr. Van Tyne to the *New York Times*, dated June 2, 1917, and appearing in the June 5 issue of that paper. He said, in part, "I feel outraged to find my name on so treasonable a sheet, even as editor of a quoted speech, and I wish here to expose the wanton misrepresentation and misuse of this document. In the first place, Daniel Webster himself was ashamed of his sophomoric effusion against conscription, and did not even permit it to be published in the Congressional

Record. He wrote his friend, Jeremiah Mason, that he would show it to him some time in secret. Webster never allowed it to be published in his printed works during his life, and, after his death, his son, Fletcher Webster, thought it unworthy of publication in his edition of his father's papers. Moreover, Webster was not at the time of making the speech 'the ablest constitutional lawyer in Congress' . . . ."

In a reply to Professor Van Tyne, written June 5, 1917, as a letter to the *New York Times* and published in the issue of June 7, Dr. David Starr Jordan released his own outraged feelings occasioned by certain personal remarks, by saying, in part, "We may readily forgive Dr. Van Tyne for rescuing this 'easily answered' document from the oblivion to which it now appears Webster consigned it."

In 1817 Webster retired from Congress for several years. About this time he was counsel for the defense of the Kennistons, Pearson, and Jackman, falsely accused of robbery. There are three separate publications touching this strange case in the Harvard Law Library:

Report of the evidence at the trial of Levi & Laban Kenniston before Hon. Samuel Putnam, on an indictment for the robbery of Major Elijah P. Goodridge, December 19, 1816. Salem: T. C. Cushing, 1817. (32 pp.). This does not contain the arguments.

Report of the evidence & arguments of counsel at the trial of Levi and Laban Kenniston . . . . for the robbery

of Major Elijah Putnam Goodridge. . . . . Boston: J. T. Buckingham, 1817. (63 pp.).

The sham-robbery, committed by Elijah Putnam Goodridge, on his own person, in Newbury, near Essex Bridge, Dec. 19, 1816, ... And his trial with Mr. Ebenezer Pearson, ... Also the trial of Levi & Laban Kenniston. By Joseph Jackman. . . . . Concord, N.H.: for the author, 1819. (152 pp.) In part a reprint of the preceding entry. Webster's address to the jury in the trial of the Kennistons is on pages 69–88, and his questions to the witnesses are given. He seems to have taken a less active part in the other two trials, although he examined some of the witnesses.

The Dartmouth College Case is one of great importance in American legal history, and has been cited nearly a thousand times in the *American Reports*.[1] But in a Webster bibliography one would be expected, of course, to mention only a little of even the early historical material on the case. As a matter of fact there are but two items touching it that should have any place in this paper. These are Timothy Farrar's report of the case and Webster's argument before the Supreme Court in Washington. The latter piece is so very rare that a short account of it will be desirable; and we shall find that it illustrates very interestingly the sort of relation that may exist between bibliography and the study of a public event. The college had come into the power of a group of people who, under the name of a university, wished to

[1] Dartmouth College, *Proceedings of Webster Centennial*, pp. 284–85.

abolish the old charter and bring the institution under the control of the state. The question arose as to "Whether this be a permanent, vested interest, or a mere estate at the will of the legislative body," in the words of the "Advertisement" in Farrar's report, and as the case for the college was worked out it involved the proposition that a charter is a contract and that no state shall pass any law affecting the validity of contracts. The controversy between the college and the university is discussed in Shirley's *Dartmouth College Causes* (1879). The college was defeated in the New Hampshire court. The argument of Webster in that court, in behalf of the college, was not reported. On March 10, 1818, Webster argued the case before the Supreme Court of the United States, and his argument must be credited with having, first or last, induced in the court the opinions that resulted nearly a year later in the decision favorable to the college. In the words of Joseph Hopkinson, Webster's colleague, inscribed in the hall honored with Webster's name, the college was "Refounded by Daniel Webster."

From the time of the argument in Washington until the final decision was handed down, both parties were engaged in an extension of the presentation of their cases by trying to influence the minds of those whose opinions would be valuable to the justices of the court. The college party, alarmed by the leakage of information that the case was likely to go against them, endeavored by a very discriminating circulation of Webster's argument to check the moves of the university

party, who were using as propaganda the decision of the state court.

Of this argument of Webster's there were two, and probably three, different editions in pamphlet form, each without title, author's name, or date. The copies of which we have record up to this time are in the Boston Public Library, the Harvard College and Harvard Law School libraries, the Boston Athenaeum, and the Bryson Library at the Teachers College, New York. Other copies probably exist, but may be difficult to find because of the lack of the usual identifying characteristics. It is quite evident, from the printed references to the argument, that the number of copies was small and the circulation carefully restricted.

Webster had "three or four" copies of his "minutes" printed between March 22 and April 23, 1818, and these he intended to have "remain, except when loaned for a single day, under my own lock and key."[1] Since, in his apparent anxiety lest they be further published, he did not at that time wish President Brown of the college to see them, it is hardly possible that they were printed at Hanover, but more likely at Boston, where he himself was.

On September 9, 1818, he gave away five copies.[2] He would hardly have been able to do this after four or five months of interest in the pamphlet unless out of a larger issue, however liberally the vague "three or four"

[1] Webster to Mason, April 23, 1818.

[2] Webster to Story, September 9, 1818.

copies may be interpreted. But there seems to be good evidence of a second printing previous to July 16, 1818. On that date, writing to President Brown that a copy had got into the hands of the students, he cautioned the president as to their discretion and said, "The printer also should be admonished not to say anything about it." The implication seems to be that President Brown was expected to caution the printer, who must therefore have been in Hanover or near there. Letters of later dates mention distribution of single copies with great discretion. On September 19, President Brown wrote to Webster as follows:

"In regard to the reprinting, I have some little doubt, whether the benefit to be expected would render the measure expedient, considering how soon it may be hoped the *volume* will appear. The very scarcity of the argument, & the half-secret & cautious manner of the distribution, stimulate curiosity, and add somewhat to the *preciousness* of the document. It has already been, or shortly will be, read by all the *commanding* men of New England & New York; . . . . N.E. & N.Y. *are gained.* Will not this be sufficient for our present purposes? If not, I should recommend the reprinting . . . . if, in your opinion, any thing more *needs* to be done in enlightening the more *eminent* of the professional men of the country let a hundred or two copies be struck off without delay. But even in that case I should recommend the principle of selection in the distribution; for I would not allow the argument to be common, until it is to be sold."

The probable third issue may have been either an authorized or an unauthorized one. On November 9, 1818, Webster wrote to President Brown, "Mr. Hough says, a hundred and fifty copies of our argument have been printed at the *Patriot* office and distributed. I hope they will do no hurt."

The process of identifying these issues may be aided by supposing that the second was printed at Hanover, probably from a carefully prepared manuscript by Webster now in the Dartmouth College Library, approximating the form as printed in the reports of Farrar and Wheaton; and the third at the *Patriot* office in Concord; and that the copies of the first issue were, as Webster says, "hastily written off, with much abbreviation; and contain little else than quotation from the cases. All the nonsense is left out. There is no title or name to it."[1]

The copies at Harvard, the Boston Athenaeum, and the Teachers College are alike, having 43 pages. The signatures number 1 to 6, five of four leaves, and the last a single fold of two leaves. There is no heading or distinguishing mark, except a double rule, the upper line thicker than the lower, above the 23 lines of text on the first page. There are 39 lines on most pages, and 18 on page 43, the last one consisting of the latter half of the word "repu-tation." The copy at the Boston Athenaeum has marginal notes in Webster's hand, and on the blank portion of the last page is the beginning, so much as the binder's knife has left, of the final paragraph of

[1] Webster to Mason, April 23, 1818.

the argument as printed in Farrar's *Report* and in the *Works*.

The copy at the Boston Public Library has 26 pages, signatures A–C in fours and D in one (or two). There is nothing to characterize this edition typographically; page 1 has 47 lines, page 3, 53 lines, and page 26, 9 lines.

At the bottom of page 17 of the 26-page edition is the meaningless sentence, "Both president and professors have *freeholds*, notwithstanding the fellows may be liable to be suspended," etc. The compositor skipped from one italicized *freeholds* to another, omitting two lines in which a second sentence begins, "All the authorities speak of fellowships in colleges as *freeholds*," etc. There is another omission, of the words "her grants," on page 14, line 36, in the sentence reading, "What hinders Vermont . . . . from resuming, at her own pleasure?" In the other edition this sentence is on page 24, line 4.

The implication that the copy in small type is one of an unauthorized edition is strengthened by the fact that where the two differ in phraseology, the one in larger type agrees with the version printed in Farrar's *Report*. The two differ radically in the use of italics and in paragraphs. The smaller-type edition is apt to have the *u* in "governour," etc.

The evidence of the differences in wording is not conclusive as to which was the earlier, the changes being such as Webster was in the habit of making. The 26-page edition has "by this court" at the top of page 21, where, on page 34 of the other, the paragraph begins "It has already

been decided in this court." Toward the bottom of page 42 are the phrases "not of ordinary importance" and "have become in a high degree respectable" (line 27), where the other reads, page 25, line 35, "of no ordinary" and "have been in a high degree."

The allusion to a volume, and to selling it, is to Farrar's *Report* of the case, contemplated since 1817, but not actually published until after the middle of 1819. Webster had a large share in its preparation and was very solicitous about its form and accuracy.[1] As he wrote to Joseph Hopkinson, March 22, 1819, "it is a book which is to make some noise in the world. . . . . This is a work which you must do for *reputation.* Our College cause will be known to our children's children. Let us take care that the rogues shall not be ashamed of their grandfathers." The title of the book is *Report of the case of the Trustees of Dartmouth College against William H. Woodward. Argued and determined in the Superior Court of Judicature of the State of New-Hampshire, November 1817. And on error in the Supreme Court of the United States, February 1819. By Timothy Farrar Counsellor at Law.* Portsmouth, N.H.: John W. Foster; Boston: West, Richardson, and Lord; J. J. Williams, printer, Exeter ([4]+406 pp.).

In Farrar's *Report* the argument is on pages 238–83, and in Henry Wheaton's *Reports*, Vol. 3, it is on pages 551–99. It is given in the *Speeches and Forensic Arguments* (1830) on pages [110]-137. In the *Writings and Speeches*, it is to be found in Vol. 10, pages [194]–233;

[1] Shirley, pp. 205, 211, 271–72, 283–85, 290–98.

and the very moving peroration in Vol. 15, pages 11–13, this peroration having been preserved for us in the eulogy of Rufus Choate, where it occurs on pages 37–39 of the hundred-page edition. The pamphlet does not contain the peroration, and a considerable part of the speech as delivered is omitted in all the reports.

Senator Lodge calls the argument the landmark in the life of Webster that "placed him before the country as one of the first and the most eloquent of her constitutional lawyers." Judge David Cross said in 1901, "The legal argument occupied five hours and the peroration, as described by Professor Goodrich, was the most brilliant ever heard in that court. The judges and the listeners were moved to tears as Mr. Webster appealed with eloquent words and trembling lips, for the life of the College. His argument prevailed and a construction of the Constitution of the United States was then given of far-reaching importance, not only for this College, but for every eleemosynary institution in the United States."[1] Webster's announcement to his brother of the decision of the court has been printed in a "*Facsimile of letter sent by Daniel Webster to his brother Esekiel announcing the decision. . . . .*" Quarto page, with title in lower-left corner; quotation marks as given.

Boston Slavery Memorial is the short title sometimes attached to a production written, in part at least, by Webster.[2] The true title begins *A memorial to the*

[1] *Dartmouth Webster Centennial*, p. 244.

[2] The authorship is discussed in *Writings and Speeches*, XV, 72–73, and in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 2d ser., VII, 119.

Congress of the United States, on the subject of restraining the increase of slavery in new states to be admitted into the Union. . . . . Boston: Sewell Phelps, 1819. (22 pp.). This was republished, in part or whole, in *The Nebraska Question comprising speeches* . . . . *with the history of the Missouri Compromise Daniel Webster's Memorial in regard to it.* . . . . New York, Redfield, 1854. (119 pp.). On pages 9–12 is "Daniel Webster on the Missouri Compromise. . . . . 'Memorial . . . .'" The *Memorial* is contained, also, in *Daniel Webster on slavery.* . . . . Boston: William Carter & Brother, 1861. (60 pp.) This *Memorial*, the text of which may be found in the "National Edition," XV, 55–72, may have been printed again, for in 1891 Rev. Dr. Edward Everett Hale expressed his intention of printing it in a pamphlet;[1] but no such edition has been noted.

In 1820 Webster delivered the first of his great memorial or occasional addresses, characterized by Edward Everett as "in some respects the most remarkable of his performances": *A discourse, delivered at Plymouth, December 22, 1820. In commemoration of the first settlement of New-England.* Boston: Wells and Lilly, 1821. (104 pp.). The same printers issued a second edition (so marked), in 1821; this had 56 pages. A third (so marked), with 76 pages, followed in 1825. Regarding this discourse, John Adams said in a letter to Webster, December 23, 1821, "If there be an American who can read it without tears, I am not that American," and

[1] Mass. *Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 2d ser., VII, 119.

further, "Mr. Burke is no longer entitled to the praise—the most consummate orator of modern times."[1] Edward Everett says of the address, "It obtained at once a wide circulation throughout the country, and gave to Mr. Webster a position among the popular writers and speakers of the United States scarcely below that which he had already attained as a lawyer and a statesman." A review, said to be by C. Cushing, appeared in the *North American Review*, XV, 36, July, 1822, with the simple title, *Mr. Webster's Discourse.*

By the Massachusetts constitutional convention in 1821 Webster was appointed a member of a committee to *Report upon the constitutional rights and privileges of Harvard College; and upon the donations that have been made to it by this commonwealth.* The report, with title beginning as above, was printed by Russell and Gardner, 1821 (16 pp.), without Webster's name on the title-page, but it is signed on page 16, "For the Committee, D. Webster."

Again in Congress in December, 1823, this time from a Massachusetts district, on the eighth of that month he introduced a resolution for the appointment of an agent or commissioner to Greece, a country then struggling against Turkey for her independence. On January 19 he delivered a speech of which Dr. Fisher says—and others have used almost the identical words—"It was reprinted wherever the English language was spoken, translated into Greek, Spanish, and, indeed, all the languages of Europe

[1] *Private Correspondence* (1857), I, 318.

and circulated in South America." These foreign editions would be especially interesting in this day when we are thinking so much of the rights of small nations. Dr. Fisher says, further, that "there is every reason to believe that Webster's words must have contributed to the creation throughout the civilized world of that favorable feeling towards Greece which had not a little to do with her ultimate success."

The speech has the title: *Mr. Webster's speech on the Greek revolution.* Washington City: John S. Meehan, Columbian office, 1824. (50 pp.). Two Boston editions appeared, one, with title beginning the same as the above, "*From the Washington edition.*" Boston: Cummings, Hilliard, & Co.; University Press, Hilliard & Metcalf; 1824. (39 pp.). The other consists of pages 1–14 of a pamphlet without a title-page, with caption heading: *Eighteenth Congress, Jan. 1824. Discussion of the Greek question, in the House of Representatives.* (footed:) Office of the Howard Gazette, No. 1 Dock Square. This edition has 48 pages and contains also the speeches of others on the same question. Webster's speech appears to be much abbreviated. An echo of this occasion was heard recently when in 1915 appeared a 20-page pamphlet by Professor Morton Prince, reprinted from the *New York Times* of November 21, 1915, with title *From Webster to Wilson; the disintegration of an ideal.* Pages 3–13, "I. The ideal," concern Webster's resolution or his speech in favor of Greece; and pages 14–20, "II. The contrast," concern the American official neutrality in 1914 and 1915.

In the spring of 1824, Webster made one of two frequently discussed tariff speeches, this one against the tariff: *Speech of Mr. Webster, upon the tariff; . . . . April, 1824.* Washington: Gales & Seaton, 1824. (47 pp.). An other edition has the imprint, Boston: Wells and Lilly, and Cummings, Hilliard, & Co., 1824. (47 pp.). There is also an edition with title simply "Speech" around which has been pasted printed text reading "Mr. Webster upon the Tariff; April, 1824." No imprint or footing.

In the same year there appeared a *Circular* of eight pages, without title-page, half-title, or running-title, but with the above-mentioned single-word caption. It is signed by Daniel Webster and 13 others, "Directors," Boston, September 20, 1824. This concerns the proposed erection of the Bunker Hill Monument, and solicits co-operation and interest. Here it is appropriate to go back six years to an article that was published in the *North American Review*, VII, 20, July, 1818 (pp. 225–58), on the Battle of Bunker Hill and General Putnam; published in the guise of a review of a pamphlet on the battle and a letter on General Putnam's character. George Ticknor says the article "is understood to have been written by Mr. Webster" and that "the whole review is strong, and no one hereafter can write the history of the period it refers to, without consulting it. The opening description of the battle is beautiful and picturesque."

The study that Webster put into this article stood him in good stead when he came to prepare the second of his memorable occasional addresses, if there is truth in the

impression given by his biographers that it was in the main composed on a trout-fishing expedition. Webster himself tells us that "Venerable men" originated in the waters of Marshpee Brook. As to the final form of the address, Professor Ogg says, "Its details, however, were the ground of much solicitude, and even after its delivery the author consumed no small amount of time in the revision of his manuscript preparatory to printing." The oration, or selections from it, has been printed a great many times as a school text, usually in combination with other of Webster's speeches and sometimes with Washington's *Farewell Address*.

The address passed immediately through five Boston editions, the first with title *An address delivered at the laying of the corner stone of the Bunker Hill monument. By Daniel Webster*. Boston: Cummings, Hilliard, & Co., 1825. (40 pp.). Later Boston imprints are . . . . *An address delivered at the laying of the corner stone of the Bunker Hill monument, June 17, 1825. By Daniel Webster*. Boston: Brainard & Co., 1843. ([1 p.]+pp. [57]–70.);—[SAME TITLE]. Boston: Tappan & Dennet, 1843. ([1 p.]+pp. [57]–70.). These are two issues of a reprint from Webster's *Speeches and Forensic Arguments* (1835), i. [57]–70. A curious particular is the printing of the text beginning with page [57] on the verso of the title-page and ending on the recto of the last leaf, instead of beginning on a recto and ending on a verso as in the original; thus, the odd-numbered pages are versos and the even are rectos. This leaves the verso of page 70 free for the advertisements

of the publishers. The signature-marks, 8 and 9, of the original edition appear on pages [57] and 65, and the (new) marks F and F* on the signature lines of pages 61 and 65. In the caption-title the lines are divided through the word Bunker without a hyphen, but the hyphen occurs in the original.

More than one translation was issued in 1825, e.g.: *Discurso pronunciado al poner la piedra angular del monumento de Bunker-Hill . . . . Traducido por José Maria Heredia.* Nueva-York: se halla en la libreria de Wilder y Campbell, ... en la imprenta de José Desnoues, ... 1825. (34 pp.). This ought not to be catalogued as published by W. Y. Campbell, as one library has it. Lafayette wrote to Webster, December 28, 1825, in these words, as reported, "Your Bunker Hill has been translated in French and other languages, to the very great profit of European readers."[1] Quérard's *La France littéraire* gives us the title *Colonne de Bunker-Hill, monument élevé à la mémoire des patriotes américains, morts sur le champ de bataille où fut remportée la première victoire de l'indépendance.* Paris: Eymery, 1825. (40 pp. 8°. 1 fr. 50 c.). "Cette brochure se compose du Discours prononcé par M. Webster, et d'un Discours de M. Kératry."

Dr. Fisher calls the address "far better in diction and style than the Plymouth oration. It was more Websterian." Professor Ogg says, "It was always the opinion of Webster that the oration at Plymouth surpassed that delivered at Bunker Hill. In the breadth of its sweep, and

[1] *Private Correspondence* (1857), I, 400.

the quality of majesty, it undeniably did so. In sheer eloquence, however, it may be doubted whether anything that Webster ever uttered surpassed his address upon the later occasion to the survivors of the battle, his apostrophe to General Warren, and his encomium of Lafayette."

The next year occurred the *Speech of Mr. Webster, of Mass. in the House of Representatives on the Panama mission. Delivered on the 14th April, 1826.* Washington, Davis & Force, 1826. (61 pp.).

The third important occasional address was that pronounced on Adams and Jefferson, deceased on the fiftieth anniversary of the declaration of American independence: *A discourse in commemoration of the lives and services of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, delivered in Faneuil Hall, Boston, August 2, 1826. By Daniel Webster.* Boston: Cummings, Hilliard, & Co., 1826. (62 pp.). No other contemporary edition, as a separate, has been noted, a remarkable fact, if, as Dr. Fisher supposes, "It had an immense popularity at the time, because, although nearly two generations had grown up since the Revolution, they had nothing to read about it; and the novelty of an actual debate on the great question at issue very naturally delighted them." This oration contains the fine passage on eloquence and the account of a debate in the Continental Congress, with the famous supposititious speech of John Adams.

Concerning the speech on the tariff bill of 1828, when Webster, who had been promoted to the Senate, supported the bill, some catalogues give the impression that there

were two editions published, with different paging: *Remarks of Mr. Webster in the Senate of the United States, May 9, 1828, on the tariff bill.* Boston: Boston Daily Advertiser, W. L. Lewis, 1828. (32 pp.); and also: Boston, 1828. (48 pp.). The fact is that the first has or may have appended, as pages 33–48, Webster's speech of April 25, 1828, on relief of officers of the Revolution. The question is, whether the first was issued separately, and whether variations occur when so found.

In 1830 Daniel Webster delivered his *Reply to Hayne*, his most famous speech in American repute, and often called his greatest. It clinched his reputation as our greatest orator. It revealed to the nation her champion of national unity under the constitution. There is perhaps as much to be said, in a bibliographical way, about this speech as about any in American history. It appears with titles mentioning three different things, Foot's resolution, the public lands, and Mr. Hayne. It is doubtful, however, whether it is well known except as the reply to Hayne.

The question naturally arises as to which was the first edition of the speech, a question not to be answered offhand. Nor can the order of editions be determined without further investigation than is possible for this paper. A first edition is interesting *per se* to collectors and bibliographers, but its true value is, of course, in its being source material. But which is the source when one word is spoken and a different one printed with the author's revision? And who can tell whether the thought swift

from the tongue to the eager ear does not work as great an effect as the measured message from paper to eye? Webster gave his speeches careful revision before publication, but his words were told over the country by those who heard them, and it might have been possible largely to reconstruct them if he had never committed them to paper.

The authorized first edition was undoubtedly one with the imprint of Gales and Seaton, who were the editors and publishers of the *National Intelligencer*. In the Boston Public Library there is a volume containing the original shorthand report by Joseph Gales, the speech written out from it by Mr. and Mrs. Gales, Webster's revision of this, partly in his own handwriting, and some notes approved by Webster; and with these there is a copy of the edition first in the list given below. But there is no evidence to show that pains were taken to prove this printed copy the veritable edition, issue, or impression approved by Webster, although such pains may have been taken. It will be necessary, indeed, to collate many Gales and Seaton copies to determine what were different editions or issues, and to compare them with the manuscript volume to discover the most approved issue. From this manuscript probably resulted the speech as published in the *National Intelligencer* in Washington on February 23, 25, and 27, 1830. Other editions had to wait for this,[1] and were based on it. But it has not been shown that the speech as published in the above-named newspaper is identical in text

[1] McMaster, *Daniel Webster*, pp. 186–87.

either with the manuscript or with the issue first in the list below. When it comes to choosing a standard text, what is to be followed, the manuscript, the *Intelligencer*, the supposed first pamphlet edition, Webster's revision made late in his life, or something of all these influenced by the reports of his auditors?[1] The following separate editions have been noted:

Speech of Daniel Webster, in reply to Mr. Hayne, of South Carolina: the resolution of Mr. Foot, of Connecticut, relative to the public lands, being under consideration. Delivered in the Senate, January 26, 1830. Washington: Gales & Seaton, 1830. (96 pp.). Of this edition there were at least two issues, differing certainly on the last page. The one mentioned above has not the words, "Ah sir," near the end of "Mr. Webster's last remarks," on page 96. It is well, perhaps, to note here that these last remarks were spoken in the natural course of debate, and are added to editions of the main speech because amplifying to a certain extent the ideas there expressed. The collation of these two issues is: p. [1], [title-page, as above]; p. [2], [blank]; pp. [3]–85, [text, with heading]: Speech; pp. [86]–92, Notes; pp. [93]–96, Mr. Webster's last remarks.

Speech of Daniel Webster, in reply to Mr. Hayne, of South Carolina: the resolution offered by Mr. Foot, relative to the public lands, being under consideration. Delivered in the Senate, January 26, 1830. Washington: Gales & Seaton, 1830. (76 pp.). Of this edition there were probably two issues, differing on the title-page (one having "rely" for "reply") and in the first line of page 61, where the word "upon" is corrected to " repose."

[1] Mr. Lindsay Swift, when editing *The Great Debate between Hayne and Webster* (1898), used the edition of Boston: Carter & Hendee, 1830, the *Works*, 1851, and the manuscript. The best account of the manuscript volume is by Mr. Swift in this edition.

[SAME TITLE AS LAST, varying]: . . . . *Mr. Foot, of Connecticut, relative to* n.p., n.d. (32 pp. no title-page; title from caption, p. [1].).

[SAME TITLE AS FIRST MENTIONED ABOVE] New-York: Elliott & Palmer, 1830. (72 pp.).

Second speech of Hon. Daniel Webster, delivered in the Senate of the United States, January 26, 1830. With a sketch of the preceding debate on the resolution of Mr. Foot, respecting the sale, &c, of public lands, Boston: Carter and Hendee, 1830. (16+76 pp.).

Speech in Senate, January 26, 1830. Richardson, Lord & Holbrook, and Beals & Homer. (40 pp.).†

Speeches of Messrs. Hayne and Webster, in the United States Senate, on the resolution of Mr. Foot, January, 1830. New Haven: J. H. Benham, 1849. (85 pp.).

[SAME TITLE]: Hartford: Case, Tiffany & Co., 1850. (84 pp.).

[SAME TITLE, varying by omission of comma after "Webster"]: Boston: Redding and Co., 1852. (84 pp.).

Speeches of Hayne and Webster in the United States Senate, on the resolution of Mr. Foot, January, 1830. Also Mr. Webster's celebrated speech on the slavery compromise bill, March 7, 1850. Boston, A. T. Hotchkiss & W. P. Fetridge, 1853. (115 pp.).

Webster and Hayne's celebrated speeches in the United States Senate, on Mr. Foot's resolution of January, 1830. Also, ... speech . . . . 1850, ... Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson and Brothers, n.d. (115 pp.).

Webster's great "Reply" is called in some editions "*Second speech*"; the first reply being that delivered January 20, of which one edition is known: *Speech of Daniel Webster, on the subject of the public lands, &c. delivered in the Senate of the United States, January 20, 1830.* Washington: Gales & Seaton, 1830. (28 pp.).

The orator's letters, written February 27 to Mason, and March 8 to Dutton, allude to his revision of the

speech, but whether for newspaper or for separate editions is not clear. In the letter of March 8 is an amusing passage that shows what difficulties an author, with the best of care, may have in establishing an approved text. In this case Webster spoke of "treason made easy," but the printer made it "treason madcosy," and so it must have been at first issued, but after correcting the proof twice and finding that he "could not make it easy" Webster eliminated the whole sentence.[1] The demand for the speech was so great that about forty thousand copies were issued from the *National Intelligencer* office, and it is said that perhaps twenty different editions were printed at other places.[2] These should be searched for, especially such as were not printed as integral parts of newspapers and other periodicals; it is possible that some of those not listed were mere newspaper reports. However, the statement has been made that "It is hardly too much to say that no speech in the English language was ever so universally diffused or so generally read."

"This great speech," says Senator Lodge, "marks the highest point attained by Mr. Webster as a public man. He never surpassed it, he never equalled it afterwards. It was his zenith intellectually, politically, and as an orator. . . . . The vigorous sarcasm with which Mr. Webster depicted practical nullification, and showed that it was nothing more or less than revolution when actually carried out, was really the conclusive answer to the nullifying doctrine. . . . . He defined the character of the

[1] *Private Correspondence* (1857), I, 494. [2] McMaster, pp. 188–89.

Union as it existed in 1830, and that definition so magnificently stated and with such grand eloquence, went home to the hearts of the people, and put into noble words the sentiment which they felt but had not expressed. This was the significance of the reply to Hayne."

The plane of public regard that Webster had now attained is shown in the statement that the first question asked of foreign visitors after this time was, "Have you seen Daniel Webster?" It is shown in his becoming a potential presidential candidate, resulting in the Massachusetts *Legislative nomination of Daniel Webster for the presidency.* 1835. (15 pp.). We find evidence of it in those public dinners that were given him from time to time as testimonials of his service to the country, on all of which occasions he made addresses: *Speeches*, Kent and Webster (New York). Boston, 1831 (24 pp.); *Address* (Pittsburgh). Boston, 1833 (32 pp.); *Reception* (Boston). Boston, 1842 (31 pp.); *Speech* (Baltimore). New-York, 1843 (32 pp.); *Speech*, (Philadelphia, 1846). Philadelphia, 1847 (16 + 88 pp. port.); and Washington, 1847 (32 pp.); *Speeches* (Annapolis). Washington, 1851; *Reception* (Boston). Boston, 1852. (32 pp.).

At the New York dinner in 1831, "he gave his hearers to understand very clearly that the nullification agitation was not at an end." The agitation came to a head when, South Carolina having passed an ordinance nullifying the national tariff law, Congress took up the "force bill." Calhoun made his argument for nullification, the most formidable, it is said, that Webster ever had to meet, and

Webster replied on February 16, 1833, in the speech called *The constitution not a compact between sovereign states. A speech by the Hon. Daniel Webster in the Senate of the United States, Jan., 1833, in reply to the resolutions offered by Mr. Calhoun, of South Carolina, affirming the right of secession.* n.p., n.d. (44 pp. No title-page; title from caption, p. [1].). This speech was made on February 16; consequently the date in the above-named title is wrong.

——[SAME TITLE, varying slightly in punctuation] New York: Bergen & Tripp, 1861. (Cover-title & 44 pp.). Caption on p. 1 repeats title.

——[SAME TITLE, varying] [London: Woodfall and Kinder], n.d. (84 pp.) No title-page; title from caption, p. [1]; printer from p. 84.

Speech of Mr. Webster . . . . in reply to Mr. Calhoun's speech, on the bill "Further to provide for the collection of duties on imports." Delivered on the 16th of February, 1833. Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1833. (48 pp.).

Speeches of John C. Calhoun and Daniel Webster, ... on the enforcing bill. Boston: Beals, Homer & Co., and Russell, Odiorne & Co., 1833. (Cover-title & 89 pp.). Of this pamphlet, pages [45]–89 contain "In Senate, Saturday, February 16, 1833. Mr. Webster's speech, in reply to Mr. Calhoun, on the revenue collection bill."

An edition giving in addition the speeches of Calhoun and Webster on February 26, after the "force bill" had passed, was published as *Supplement to The Political Register, covering the speeches of Messrs. Calhoun, Webster,*

and Poindexter, on the revenue collection bill. [Washington: Duff Green, 1833.] (var. p.).

Curtis says that "The speech in reply to Mr. Calhoun was far less rhetorical than that in reply to Mr. Hayne," but that "Perhaps there is no speech ever made by Mr. Webster that is so close in its reasoning, so compact, and so powerful."

In 1830, Webster had taken part in what Curtis calls "one of the most remarkable criminal prosecutions on record," the *Trial of John Francis Knapp . . . . for the murder of Capt. Joseph White, ... at Salem, July 20, 1830. . . . .* Boston: Dutton & Wentworth, 1830. (52 pp.). Also printed as: *A report of the evidence and points of law . . . .* Salem, W. & S. B. Ives, 1830. Reprinted with an Appendix . . . . Salem edition, 1830. (72 pp.).

In 1831 was published *Speeches of Messrs. Webster, Frelinghuysen and others, at the Sunday School meeting in the city of Washington, February 16, 1831.* Philadelphia, American Sunday School Union, 1831. (24 pp.).

The next year appeared *Speech at the National Republican Convention, in Worcester, Oct. 12, 1832.* Boston: Simpson & Clapp, 1832. (43 pp.). There are at least three variants of this edition that have the imprint of "J. E. Hinckley & Co., Printers, No. 14, Water Street" on the back of the title, and one that is without it.

This speech was also printed as a part of the *Journal of the Proceedings of the National Republican Convention, held at Worcester, October 11, 1832.* Boston: Stimpson &

Clapp, 72 Washington Street. J. E. Hinckley & Co., Printers, 14 Water Street, 1832. Beginning with the heading "Mr. Webster's Speech" on page 35, the speech occupies the rest of the pamphlet. The signatures, of 4 leaves each, are numbered 1–10. A slip of "Correction," 7 lines, for page 27, sometimes follows the title.

Of this speech in the two forms just mentioned, twelve copies have been found to differ each in some respect from all the others. The speech is printed on six sheets, five with four leaves and the last with two leaves. There are variations in each of these sheets, running from two each in the fourth and fifth sheets to eight in the second sheet. The sheets appear in various combinations; the "Journal" sheets being in some cases combined with the "Speech" sheets, giving such paging as: 1–72, 41–43; 1–40, 9–43; and 1–40, 73–75. Moreover, they vary in some cases without apparent consistency as to either the "forms" or the leaves that might be expected to agree or differ together. The copies thus present an opportunity for an interesting study in bibliographical genealogy.

As to textual differences, the most important is on page 13, second paragraph, where two lines were either added or deleted, reading "She [England] manifests no weak or pretended jealousy of foreign influence, from the freest intercourse with the commercial world." A variant of the passage reads, "by reason of the freest." Aside from the interesting question of this passage, which may have been eliminated for fear of its misinterpretation at a time when there was considerable free-trade discussion,

there are at least four differences in line-endings on the page, the last line closing with "constitutional," "of a con-," "homage to," and "no hom-," in various copies. On pages 41 and 42 the changes are verbal, one passage reading "in that State; nor can I doubt," and again "State. I cannot doubt;" the other "The gaze of the sons of liberty, everywhere, is upon us, anxiously, intently upon us. They may see us fall," the change being from "They" to "It" or perhaps vice versa. In the same sheet there are differences in the line-endings of the last two pages, showing that the type was reset. In one copy the paragraph at the bottom of page 4 has suffered a typographical mishap, losing the final letter of two lines. This may be related to a copy with this page wrongly numbered.

The copies examined are at Harvard, the Boston Athenaeum, the Boston Public Library, the New York Public Library, American Antiquarian Society, and in the possession of the writer. The substance of the evidence seems to show that there was a demand for copies of the *Speech* which the printer had difficulty in supplying.

In the same year as the last, Webster delivered a memorial oration little known popularly as compared with those at Plymouth and Bunker Hill, or that on Adams and Jefferson, but containing much that is notable. This comprises pages [2]–11 of *Speeches and other proceedings at the public dinner in honor of the centennial anniversary of Washington*. . . . . City of Washington: Jonathan Elliot, 1832. (32 pp.). The same year also Webster opposed the

naming of Van Buren as minister to England, and delivered the speeches contained on pages 11–14 and 40–42 of *Debate in the Senate, on the nomination of Martin Van Buren* . . . . n.p., n.d. (55 pp.)

An 1834 title runs *New-York Jubilee. Report, (the only one extant,) of the eloquent and patriotic speech of the Honorable Daniel Webster, delivered from a window of his sister's house, in Greenwich-street, on the occasion of the great Whig jubilee, at the Castle garden, April 15, 1834.* . . . . New-York, published for the proprietors, John Lomas, printed by William Applegate, 1834. (8 pp.).

In the year 1838 Webster delivered at Niblo's Saloon, otherwise called Niblo's Garden, in New York, what Senator Lodge calls "the greatest purely political speech which he ever delivered," in which he reviewed President Jackson's administration "with the greatest severity." It is notable not only in regard to the subject of finances, but also in that he opposed the annexation of Texas, and that he expressed his general ideas on the slavery question, already clearly stated several years before this, and yet surprisingly considered in 1850 as a new attitude: *Speech delivered by Daniel Webster, at Niblo's Saloon, in New York, on the 15th March, 1837.* n.p., n.d. (4+32 pp.). This also appeared with the title: *Speech delivered by Daniel Webster at Niblo's Saloon, in New-York, on the 15th March, 1837.* New-York: Harper & Bros., 1837. (Cover-title & 35 pp.). Webster's position on slavery in the District of Columbia is set forth in a pamphlet published with caption title as follows: [*In Senate of the United States,*

Wednesday, January 10, 1838.] *Remarks of Mr. Webster on the following resolution, moved by Mr. Clay, as a substitute for the 5th of Mr. Calhoun's resolutions* . . . . n.p., n.d. (4 pp.). No title-page. The brackets occur as given. Near the middle of page 1, "States" is misprinted "Srates." There is reported to be an issue of this speech with 8 pages.

In 1840 there was issued a *Report of the agricultural meeting, held in Boston, January 13, 1840, containing the remarks on that occasion of the Hon. Daniel Webster.* Salem: Gazette office, 1840. (36+8 pp.). Webster's speech is on pages 8–30. It is noticeable because, as he had just returned from England, where he had become much interested in the English agricultural methods, his opinion on the subject was occasioning wide interest.

A striking characteristic of the decade from 1830 to 1840 was its preoccupation with the national finances. When we consider the informed, consistent, and forceful speeches that Daniel Webster delivered on financial questions during this period, we shall not wonder that the first President Harrison offered him the Treasury as an alternative to the State portfolio. A list of these speeches, with abbreviated titles, follows:

Mr. Webster's speeches upon the question of renewing the charter of the Bank of the United States. Delivered May 25, and 28, 1832. Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1832. (16 pp.).

Veto message of President Andrew Jackson, on returning the bank bill July, 1832; together with the speech of the Hon. Daniel Webster. Lowell: n.d. (68 pp.).

Speech of the Hon. Daniel Webster, on the President's veto of the bank bill. July 11, 1832. n.p., n.d. (28 pp.).

——[SAME TITLE] Boston: J. E. Hinckley and Co., 1832. (32 pp.).

Extracts from Mr. Webster's speeches, in 1832, on the passage of the bill for rechartering the Bank, and on the veto message. n.p., n.d. (Sheet, 53×32½ cm.).†

Remarks of Mr. Webster, on the removal of the deposites, and on the subject of a national bank: January, 1834. Washington: Gales & Seaton, 1834. (23 pp.).

Remarks of Mr. Webster on different occasions, on the removal of the deposites; and on the subject of a national bank: January and February, 1834. Washington: Gales & Seaton, 1834. (32 pp.). There is record of an edition with this title having 16 pages only; it may be an incomplete copy of the 32-page edition.

Mr. Webster's report. Report on the removal of the deposites, made by Mr. Webster, on the 5th of February, 1834. Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1834. (23 pp.).

23d Congress, 1st session. In Senate of the United States. February 5, 1834. Mr. Webster, from the Committee on finance. Report on the removal of the public deposites. n.p., n.d. (21 pp.) No title-page; title from caption. "[72]" appears as shoulder note on all pages.

Remarks of Mr. Webster, on the subject of the deranged currency, February 22, 1834. Broadside. n.p., n.d. (Letterpress 16×11⅝ inches. 4 columns.).

Speech of Mr. Webster, on moving for leave to introduce a bill to continue the Bank of the United States, March 18, 1834. Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1834. (16 pp.).

Speech of Hon. Daniel Webster . . . . March 18, on asking leave . . . . no t. p. (8 pp.).

Mr. Webster's speech on the President's protest; delivered May 7, 1834. Washington: Gales & Seaton, 1834. (31 pp.).

Speech of Mr. Webster, of Massachusetts, on the subject of the three millions appropriation, January 14, 1836. Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1836. (16 pp.).

Speech of Mr. Webster, January 14, 1836, on Mr. Benton's resolutions. Boston: John H. Eastburn, 1836. (20 pp.).

Speech of Mr. Webster, of Massachusetts, on introducing his proposition for the distribution of the surplus revenue. In Senate of the United States, Tuesday, May 31, 1836. Washington: Gales & Seaton, 1836. (15 pp.).

The specie circular. Speech of Mr. Webster, (of Massachusetts.) In the Senate, December 21, 1836. n.p., n.d. (16 pp.). No title-page; title from caption.

Mr. Webster's speech on Mr. Ewing's resolution to rescind the treasury order . . . . delivered . . . . December 21, 1836. Wash.: Gales & Seaton, 1837. (37 pp.).

Speeches of Henry Clay & Daniel Webster, Sept. 25, 1837, on the sub-treasury bill. Norwich, [Conn.]: J. Dunham, n.d. (48 pp.). Webster's speech is on pp. [23]–48. Typographical variations occur in copies of this pamphlet.

Mr. Webster's speech on the currency. Delivered September 28, 1837. Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1837. (26 pp.).

The protest against expunging. In the Senate of the United States, Monday, January 16, 1837. n.p., n.d. (2 pp.). No title-page; title from caption, p. [1]. The second page has the page number, 2, and at the bottom, in the center, the figure 4. There are variations in copies of this, the first page of some copies ending "done," and that of others ending "done; whether by era-".

Mr. Webster's remarks on the pre-emption bill. Delivered in the Senate U.S., January 29, 1838. n.p., n.d. (7 p.). No title-page; title from caption, p. [1].

Mr. Webster's second speech on the sub-treasury bill. Delivered March 12, 1838. n.p., n.d. (31 pp.).

——[SAME TITLE] Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1838. (60 pp.).

——[SAME TITLE, SAME EDITION AS LAST]: an issue in which page 58 is on the leaf with page 60 and page 59 on the leaf with 57.

——[SAME TITLE] New-York: S. Colman and J. G. Wilson, etc.; 1838. (24 pp.). Pages 22–24 are printed in smaller type than the others.

Mr. Webster's speech on the bill imposing additional duties as depositaries, commonly called the sub-treasury bill; delivered on March 12, 1838: and his speech of the 22d March, in answer to Mr. Calhoun. Washington: Gales & Seaton, 1838. (111 pp.).

——[SAME TITLE] Boston: John H. Eastburn, 1838. (92 pp.),

Mr. Webster's speech in answer to Mr. Calhoun, March 22, 1838- n.p., n.d. (19 pp.).

Mr. Webster's speech at Saratoga, N.Y. August 19, 1840. Boston: Perkins and Marvin, 1840. (28 pp.).

Speech of Daniel Webster, at the great mass meeting at Saratoga. New York, on 19th August, 1840. [Nashville, Tenn.: B. R. M'Ken. nie, 1840.] (12 pp.). Title from caption.

Webster on the currency. Speech at the Merchants' meeting, New York, on Monday, September 28, 1840. New York: E. French, 1840. (24 pp.).

Remarks of Mr. Webster and Mr. Wright, on the President's message, the finances, and debts of the nation. In Senate, December 16, 1840. n.p., n.d. (16 pp.). No title-page; title from caption. This pamphlet includes the speeches of Wright and Webster on December 17.

Mr. Webster's remarks on that part of the president's message which relates to the revenue and finances. December 16 and 17, 1840. Washington: Intelligencer office, 1840. (12 pp.).

This list of editions may give a small notion of a tremendous record of speech-making by Webster during that decade, the larger part of it on financial questions; strenuous, yet up to 1840, as Senator Lodge

says, with "a small and select body of listeners, all more or less familiar with the subject. In 1840 he was obliged to present these same topics, with all their infinite detail and inherent dryness, to vast popular audiences, but nevertheless he achieved a marvelous success." This was in the campaign to elect Harrison, whom Webster supported. The campaign speeches, with the exception of those noted above on August 19 and September 28, do not come down to us as separates; the sole other item to find place here being the *Bunker Hill declaration. September 10, 1840.* n.p., n.d. (12 pp.), signed by "Daniel Webster, president," reviewing former administrations and pledging support to Harrison's candidacy. In the popular speeches on the currency in 1840, Senator Lodge continues, "Mr. Webster showed, in handling his subject, not only the variety, richness, and force which he had displayed in the Senate, but the capacity of presenting it in a way thoroughly adapted to the popular mind, and yet at the same time of preserving the impressive tone of a dignified statesman, without any degeneration into mere stump oratory. This wonderful series of speeches produced the greatest possible effect."

Harrison was elected president, and offered a cabinet position to Webster. He chose, not the Treasury, but fortunately the State Department. The fifth decade of his public career is marked conspicuously by questions of foreign relations. The first was that of the "Caroline" or "McLeod's case," which, together with the impressment and boundary issues, threatened us with war with

Great Britain. *Correspondence between Mr. Webster and Lord Ashburton: 1. on McLeod's case; 2. on the Creole case; 3. on the subject of impressment.* n.p., n.d. (32 pp.). Incidentally, the Creole case deserves special mention as forecasting again Webster's attitude on slavery in 1850. It is unnecessary to list here the speeches and writings supporting or attacking Webster's executive work, but there are a number of separately printed editions of these, particularly in the year 1841. No special search has yet been made for this material; besides the libraries of the United States, those of Canada and Great Britain should be consulted.

In 1843 a meeting was held at the New York Historical Society, the report of which is usually found catalogued under Gallatin. Webster delivered a speech at this meeting, which is found on pages 57–68 of the pamphlet report entitled *A memoir on the north-eastern boundary, in connexion with Mr. Jay's map, by the Hon. Albert Gallatin, LL.D., ... together with a speech on the same subject, by the Hon. Daniel Webster, LL.D., Secretary of State, &c. &c.; delivered at a special meeting of the New-York Historical Society, April 15th, 1843. Illustrated by a copy of the "Jay map."* New-York: printed for the Society, 1843. ([2]+74 pp. Folded map.)

Curtis, reviewing Webster's *Diplomatic and Official Papers* in the *North American Review*, LXVIII, 1 (1849), considered the negotiation of the Ashburton Treaty the most important of Webster's acts, "conducted with great skill, tact, and discretion, with the vast resources of a

profound knowledge of an entangled controversy of fifty years' standing," an example "of great and permanent importance to the world," and involving principles "that will have an influence in the world as long as civilization exists on the face of the globe." Although Webster had gained one of the most signal victories ever achieved over the political forces of unreason, nevertheless, when he was again in the Senate and because he was using his influence for a peaceful settlement of the Oregon question, he was attacked, especially by Mr. C. J. Ingersoll and Mr. Dickinson, in a manner that resulted in a defense that was called by Senator Lodge "one of the strongest and most virile speeches he ever delivered." The four known editions or issues of this are as follows:

Mr. Webster's vindication of the treaty of Washington of 1842; in a speech delivered in the Senate of the United States, on the 6th and 7th of April, 1846. Washington: J. & G. S. Gideon, 1846. (71 pp. Without map or appendices.)

——[SAME TITLE] [same imprint]. (88 pp. With map and appendices.)

——[SAME TITLE] [same imprint]. (85 pp. With map and appendices.)

——[SAME TITLE] n.p., n.d. (64 pp. With map and appendices.)

In the three Gideon issues, having 71, 88, and 85 pages respectively, pages 1–71 are the same and comprise the main text of the work. In the issues with 88 and 85 pages, the pages [73]–88 and [73]–85 respectively consist of nine appendices, containing correspondence between

Webster, as Secretary of State, and others, and extracts from the treaty, and a convention between England and France for suppressing the slave traffic. Since there is allusion in the main text to these appendixes, they are referred to as well in the 71-page issue with which they do not appear. In the issues with 88 and 85 pages, there is inserted a map, which occurs in some copies of the issue of 88 pages in its first state and in some in its second, while in the issue of 85 pages it occurs in its second. In the 64-page issue the nine appendixes occur on pages [54]–64, and the map occurs in its second state. It must be said, however, that there is need of collation of more copies to ascertain with certainty the distinction between issues and the relation of the maps thereto.

The map is entitled, in its first state: "Map of the various lines between the United States and the British provinces reduced from the official map of Major J. D. Graham, U.S. Commissioner." The additions in the second state include: (1) the words, "Published by order of the Senate of the U.S. March 3d 1843"; (2) the inset map with title: "Rouse's Point and its vicinity on Lake Champlain shewing the positions selected for the fortifications"; (3) the explanation regarding the altitudes; (4) the figures denoting the altitudes on the highlands boundary claimed by the United States. There are also additions to the coloring on the Chaudière and Dead Rivers, and changes in the coloring of the line of the parallel of 45° N. lat. and the upper Connecticut waters. It should be mentioned here that in the *Diplomatic and*

Official Papers . . . . (1848) the map appears in its second state and without boundary colors.

Webster opposed the Mexican War, made efforts to bring it to a speedy close, and opposed the annexation of Mexican territory. "With great force and in a tone of solemn warning," as Mr. Lodge says, he denounced the annexation of territory from which new slave states might be constructed, and declared that we were "rushing upon perils headlong, and with our eyes wide open"; this in *Remarks of the Hon. Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts, on the three million bill. In Senate of the United States, March 1, 1847.* [Washington]: J. & G. S. Gideon, n.d. (8 pp.) No title-page; title from caption, p. [1]; printer from footnote, p. [1]. In this issue the speech takes pages [1]–8. Another issue of 8 pages differs in having the type set forward, beginning on page [1], enough to save half a page, resulting in the speech taking pages [1]–7; and on page 8 is a "Transcript from the Journal of the Senate, showing the votes of members. 'In the Senate of the United States, March 1, 1847.'" Resisting the provision of means for continuing the war after the treaty of peace was ratified, another speech was delivered: *Mr. Webster's speech, in the Senate of the United States, March 23, 1848, on the Mexican war.* [Washington]: J. & G. S. Gideon, n.d. (16 pp.) No title-page; title from caption, p. [1]; printer from footnote, p. [1]. Reprinted as: *Mr. Webster's speech, in the U.S. Senate, March 23, 1848, upon the war with Mexico.* Boston: Eastburn's Press, 1848. (24 pp.).

Other items of this decade occur as follows:

Speech at the convention at Richmond, Va., on Oct. 5th, 1840. New York, 1840. (24 pp.).†

Mr. Webster's remarks to the Ladies of Richmond, Va., October 5th, 1840. Boston: Perkins & Marvin, 1841. (8 pp.).

Address, delivered at Bunker Hill, June 17, 1843, on the completion of the monument. By Daniel Webster. Boston: T. R. Marvin, 1843. (39 pp.). This seems to be the official edition.

Webster's address delivered at the completion of the Bunker Hill monument, June 17, 1843. [Boston: Redding & Co., 1843.] (8 pp.) No title-page; title from caption; imprint at end, p. 8.

An address delivered at the completion of the Bunker Hill monument, June 17, 1843. By Daniel Webster. Boston: Tappan and Dennet, 1843. (20 pp.).

Mr. Webster's address at Andover, November 9, 1843. Boston, T. R. Marvin, 1843. (44 pp.). This was reviewed by Professor Moses Stuart of Andover, in *Mr. Webster's Andover address.* Essex County, 1844. (20 pp.); and *Conscience and the constitution.* Boston, 1850. (119 pp.).

Mr. Webster's speech in defence of the Christian ministry, February 10, 1844, in the case of Stephen Girard's will. Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1844. (60 pp.).

Defence of the Christian religion. N.Y., 1844. (76 pp.).†

Webster's speech. A defence of the Christian religion. Second edition. New York: Mark H. Newman, 1844. (72 pp.).

Speech of Daniel Webster of Massachusetts, delivered at the great Whig mass convention, held at Philadelphia, on the 1st day of October, 1844. Philadelphia, 1844. (22 pp.).

Argument of Hon. Daniel Webster, on behalf of the Boston & Lowell R. R. company. Boston, January XX, MDCCCXLV. Reported by Nathan Hale, jr. Boston: Dutton and Wentworth, 1845. (31 pp.).

Mr. Webster's remarks at the meeting of the Suffolk bar, occasioned by the death of the Hon. Mr. Justice Story. Boston: James Munroe and Co., 1845. (14 pp.).

Argument of the Hon. Daniel Webster, and the Hon. J. MacPherson Berrien, in the case of Charles F. Sibbald against the United States. Philadelphia, 1845. (45 pp. Cover title-page.)†

The true Whig sentiment of Massachusetts. n.p., n.d. (24 pp.). The heading on p. [17] is "Speech of Hon. Daniel Webster."

Mr. Webster's speech on the new tariff bill. July 25, 1846. Washington: J. & G. S. Gideon, 1846. (48 pp.). Also another ed. (32 pp.) without t.-p.

Proceedings of the Harbor and River Convention held at Chicago, July fifth, 1847. Letters read . . . . Chicago: R. L. Wilson, Daily Journal office, 1847. (79 pp.). Contains letters of Webster of June 26, 1847, on pp. 45–46 and 51–64.

The Rhode Island question. Mr. Webster's argument in the case of Martin Luther vs. Luther M. Borden and others, January 27th, 1848. Washington: J. and G. S. Gideon, 1848. (26 pp.). 33 lines of text on p. 3.

——[SAME TITLE] [same imprint] (20 pp.). 47 lines of text on p. 3.

Speech of Hon. Daniel Webster, on the presidential question; delivered at Marshfield, Mass., September 1, 1848. (14 pp.).†

Speech by the Hon. Daniel Webster, delivered at Marshfield, Sept. 1, 1848. n.p., n.d. (16 pp.) without t.-p.†

Mr. Webster's speech at Marshfield, Mass. delivered September 1, 1848, and his speech on the Oregon bill, delivered in the United States Senate, August 12, 1848. Boston: T. R. Marvin, 1848. (24 pp.). Senator Lodge says that the Marshfield speech was a crisis in Webster's life, and a lost opportunity, in that he did not put himself at the head of the "constitutional anti-slavery party."

Speech of Hon. Daniel Webster, at Abington, October 9, 1848. n.p., n.d. (8 pp.). No title-page; title from caption, p. [1].

Proceedings in Massachusetts and New Hampshire on the death of the Hon. Jeremiah Mason. Boston: John Wilson, 1849. (41 pp.). Webster's address, in presenting Rufus Choate's Suffolk Bar resolutions on Mason to the Massachusetts Supreme Court on November 14th, 1848, is on pages 7–29.

Speeches of the Hon. Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts, delivered at the festival of the Sons of New Hampshire, in Boston, Nov. 7th, 1849. Boston: James French, 1849. ([2]+23 pp.).

The papers and speeches near the end of the great statesman's life are the following:

The "Seventh of March" speech, discussed later.

Speech of the Honorable Daniel Webster, on the compromise bill, on the 17th day of July, 1850. [Washington]: Gideon & Co., n.d. (15 pp.). No title-page; title from caption, p. [1]; printer from footnote, p. [1].

——[SAME TITLE, varying] Washington: Gideon & Co., 1850. (28 pp.).†

Remarks of Hon. Daniel Webster in the Senate of the United States, June 17, 1850. Together with Mr. Webster's letter to Robert H. Gardiner, Esq.; and other citizens of Maine. [Washington: Gideon & Co.], n.d. (8 pp.). No title-page; title from caption.†

Letter from citizens of Newburyport, Mass., and Mr. Webster's reply. Washington: Gideon and Co., 1850. (16 pp.). Also (20 pp.)†

Correspondence between Mr. Webster and his New Hampshire neighbors. Washington: Gideon and Co., 1850. (10 pp.).

The Austro-Hungarian question. Correspondence between Mr. Hülsemann and Mr. Webster. Washington: Gideon and Co., 1851. (23 pp.).

Sketch of the life of Louis Kossuth, and the letter of Daniel Webster to Chevalier Hulsemann. New York: Stringer & Townsend, 1851. (96 pp.). The Hulsemann letter, Dr. Fisher says, "is a most impressive paper which delighted the whole country by its Americanism, inspired respect in Europe, and has become a landmark in

the history of diplomacy. It was a letter in which the substance was old-fashioned spread-eagleism expressed in classic urbanity, and no one but Webster could have done it."

Speech of Mr. Webster, at the celebration of the New York New England Society, December 23, 1850. Washington: Gideon and Co., 1851. (13 pp.).

Speech of Hon. Daniel Webster, to the young men of Albany. Wednesday, May 28, 1851. [Washington]: Gideon & Co., n.d. (29 pp.). Some copies have only 21 pages; was it so published?

Mr. Webster's speeches at Buffalo, Syracuse, and Albany, May, 1851. New-York: Mirror office, [cop. 1851.] (56 pp.). Also . . . [2d ed.] N.Y. Mirror office (56 pp.). Another ed.: Boston, 1851, (48 pp.).

Speeches of Mr. Webster at Capon Springs, Virginia; June 28, 1851. [Washington]: Gideon & Co., n.d. (18 pp.).

Mr. Webster's address at the laying of the corner stone of the addition to the capitol; July 4th, 1851. Washington: Gideon and Co., 1851. (29 pp.).

——[SAME TITLE] Washington: Gideon and Co., 1851. (30 pp.). Page 30 has a letter to Webster from Henry Lunt.

An address delivered before the New York Historical Society, February 23, 1852, by Daniel Webster. . . . . New York: The Historical Society, 1852. (57 pp.).

Speech of the Hon. Daniel Webster in the great india rubber suit, in March, 1852. New-York: Arthur & Burnet, 1852. (14+54 pp. With facsim.)

Address delivered by the Hon. Daniel Webster in Faneuil Hall, May 22, 1852, at the request of the City Council of Boston. Boston: J. H. Eastburn, 1852. (25 pp.).

The bibliographer, while studiously dispassionate, must end his account at the most dazzling point, in which the great statesman hazarded for the sake of national unity and peace all he had of bright fame. "In a literary

and rhetorical point of view the speech of the 7th of March was a fine one," says Senator Lodge. And Dr. Fisher says, "It is probable that no speech Webster ever made in the Senate, perhaps not even the reply to Calhoun, was thought out so thoroughly, and with such complete preparation. Seventeen pages of notes were found among his papers. But the notes he used in speaking were all on two small scraps of paper. . . . . General Lyman, who was present, says that though Webster spoke for three hours, he never looked at his notes except to take from them copies of resolutions or quotations, never hesitated for a word or a phrase, or changed the form of a sentence, the speech rolled out like a mighty river. . . . . This speech is the most classic one Webster ever delivered, the most perfect in taste."

The chief contemporary editions are the following:

The compromise resolutions. Speech of Hon. Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts, March 7, 1850. [Washington]: Congressional Globe office, n.d. (15 pp.). No title-page; title from caption, p. [1]; printer from p. 15. Printed in double columns.

Speech of Mr. Webster on Mr. Clay's resolutions. Delivered March 7, 1850. [Washington]: Gideon & Co., n.d. (15 pp.). No title-page; title from caption, p. [1]; printer from footnote, p. [1]. Printed in single columns.

——[SAME TITLE] *Second edition.* [Washington]: Gideon & Co., n.d. (15 pp.). No title-page; title from caption, p. [1]; printer from footnote, p. [1]. Printed in single columns.

Speech of Hon. Daniel Webster, on Mr. Clay's resolutions, March 7, 1850. Washington: Gideon and Co., 1850. (64 pp.). Typographical variations occur in copies of this edition on pages 22–28.

——[SAME TITLE AS LAST] Boston: Redding and Company, 1850. (39 pp.).

Speech of the Hon. Daniel Webster, on the subject of slavery; on Thursday, March 7, 1850. Boston: Redding and Co., 1850. (39 pp.).

Speeches of Hon. John C. Calhoun, and Hon. Daniel Webster, on the subject of slavery. Delivered March, 1850. New York: Stringer & Townsend, 1850. (Cover-title & 32 pp.).

Speeches of Hayne and Webster. January, 1830. Also, Mr. Webster's celebrated speech on the slavery compromise bill, March 7, 1850. Boston: A. T. Hotchkiss & W. P. Fetridge, 1853. (115 pp.).

Webster and Hayne's celebrated speeches. January, 1830. Also, Daniel Webster's speech, May 7, 1850, on the slavery compromise. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson and Brothers, n.d. (115 pp.). The date is wrongly given "May 7."

Daniel Webster on slavery. Extracts from some of the speeches of Mr. Webster, on the subject of slavery; together with his great compromise speech, of March 7, 1850, entire, and the Boston Memorial, on the subject of slavery, drawn up by Mr. Webster, to which is added the Constitution of the United States. Boston: William Carter & Brother, 1861. (60 pp.).†

Most of the stormy controversy that has raged about the head of Daniel Webster has arisen from this Seventh of March speech. Lamentation and laudation were pronounced in terms of perhaps equal extravagance. Lowell, Longfellow, Emerson, denounced him. Whittier wrote his *Ichabod*. At the time of Webster's decease about two years later, out from among the voices of real sorrow came Theodore Parker's vitriolic attack, in the guise of a eulogy or of a life. Junius Americanus (who is said to have been George O. Stearns) answered Parker;

and during a period of forty years William Cleaver Wilkinson in turn answered him. On the centennial of Webster's birth, when the dispute was renewed, Hudson championed the statesman. Mr. Hapgood, in 1899, wrote that this speech was the one thing that prevented Webster from being the grandest figure on the continent of North America. The favorable verdict latterly rendered by Mr. Bergen, Dr. Fisher, and Professor Ogg must mellow the judgments of colder critics.

In explanation of the speech, Senator Lodge says that Webster "thought war and secession might come and it was against this possibility and probability that he sought to provide. He wished to solve the great problem, to remove the source of danger, to set the menacing agitation at rest. He aimed at an enduring and definite settlement, and that was the purpose of the 7th of March speech. . . . . It was a mad project. . . . . The blow fell with terrible force. . . . . The conservative reaction which Mr. Webster endeavored to produce came and triumphed. . . . . It was a wonderful tribute to his power and influence, but the triumph was hollow and short-lived. He had attempted to compass an impossibility."

Opinions and feelings differ regarding motive and effect. But the seventh of March became a famous day, and on it hangs in peculiar measure the quality of a great man's fate.

ALDUS AND THE FIRST USE OF HEBREW TYPE IN VENICE

BY ALEXANDER MARX
Librarian of the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York

WHILE the large majority of Hebrew incunabula appeared in Italy, it is remarkable that none was published in Venice, although 40 per cent of the entire book production of Italy came from the presses of that city.[1] Hebrew letters were employed in Venice for the first time by Aldus Manucius in his *Introductio utilissima hebraice discere cupientibus*, which formed an appendix to Aldus' Latin Grammar of 1501. Professor Gustav Bauch of Breslau in his paper on the introduction of Greek into Northern Germany[2] tried to prove that this was preceded by an earlier edition of 1497, to which year he ascribes the undated Aldine Lascaris. But Professor Bauch's argument is based on the assumption that the Latin grammar which bears the date of February, 1501, is dated according to the Venetian style and actually appeared in 1502. He showed that Johannes Rhagius Aesticampianus used the table of Cebes which appeared, together with Lascaris, in Basle in 1501, as well as in Aldus' Latin grammar. He maintains that since the Latin grammar was not printed at the time, he must have used the Cebes in the undated Lascaris, which accordingly must have appeared earlier, viz., in 1497.

As against this argument, Christie[3] has shown that Aldus did not employ the Venetian year at that time, and that his Latin grammar actually did appear in February, 1501. There is thus no difficulty in Rhagius making use of the 1501 edition of Aldus, and we do not need to claim an earlier date for Lascaris than 1501–3. In opposition to Bauch's claims Lascaris is not mentioned in Aldus' first catalogue, but it does appear in his second catalogue of 1503.[4]

Aldus not only printed his introduction as an appendix to the quarto grammar in 1501, but he also published a separate edition of it in duodecimo, of which some pages were reproduced in facsimile by Panizzi in his *Chi era Francesco da Bologna?* (London, 1858), from the copy in the Spencer Library. Panizzi does not express himself on the priority of the two forms of the little primer, of which the separate edition is printed in Oriental form from right to left on 15 leaves and the appendix in quarto running from left to right conforming with the volumes to which it is appended. In the Catalogue of the John Rylands Library, 1899, page 921, the Spencer copy of the separate edition is dated [1500], while another copy in the Catalogue G. Manzoni[5] is ascribed to the year 1501.

It is very curious, though generally overlooked, that the authorship of Aldus has been contested. Gerson Soncino, the famous Jewish printer, published the same *Introductio ad literas hebraicas* at Pesaro in 1510,[6] under his own name, claiming that he had been the author of this primer in his early youth, "jam pene puer" and had

given it to somebody (i.e. Aldus) who was ignorant of the Hebrew language and who produced it incorrectly. Soncino therefore reprinted the booklet, which includes a Hebrew translation of the Lord's Prayer! Aldus evidently paid no attention to the claims of his rival, for in 1514 he again issued it as an appendix to his *Institutionum grammaticarum libri quatuor*, without any change in the preface. There is a copy of this edition in the Sulzberger collection in the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York.

Besides the primer, we have one page of Hebrew text printed by Aldus. This is a specimen of a proposed polyglot Bible in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, which was reproduced in facsimile from the unique copy of the Bibliothèque Nationale by Renouard.[7] Although this edition was announced in the preface of Dekaduos to Aldus' Greek Psalter, which appeared before October, 1498—when it was advertised in the first catalogue of Aldus—the specimen was hardly printed before 1501. In September of that year Aldus sent a copy of the leaf to Conrad Celtes, while in the preceding July he had written him that "Vetus et novum instrumentum graece, latine & hebraice nondum impressi, sed parturio."[8] It seems that the plan was not carried any further, just as the announcement of Soncino in the preface of his *Introductio* that it would be followed by a trilingual Psalter with his own glosses remained unfulfilled.

Outside of a few reprints of The Aldus *Primer*,[9] no Hebrew type was used in Venice until 1516. In that

year the first work from the press of Daniel Bomberg appeared. His activity down to 1548 made Venice the center of Hebrew publishing. We owe him a large number of the best printed Hebrew books, including the most important and most voluminous works of Rabbinic literature, such as the Bible with Rabbinical commentaries (in Buxtorf's reprint called *Biblia Rabbinica*) and the Talmud in several editions.[10]

NOTES

1. See A. W. Pollard, *An Essay on Colophons*, Chicago: Caxton Club, 1905, p. 30.

2. Kehrbach's *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für deutsche Erziehungs- und Schulgeschichte*, VI (Berlin, 1896), 72; cf. *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, XLVIII (1904), 332.

3. *Bibliographica*, I, 214.

4. Renouard, *Annales de l'imprimerie des Alde* (Paris: 3d ed., 1834), pp. 332 and 262.

5. *Citta di Castello*, 1893, p. 242, No. 4186 *bis*.

6. It is unknown where the unique copy of Soncino's edition is found at present. It belonged to Manzoni, who fully described it in his *Annali tipografici dei Soncino*, parte seconda, I (Bologna, 1883), 256–65; see also the catalogue of his library, *loc. cit.*

7. *Op. cit.*, p. 389.

8. Renouard, pp. 516–17; cf. p. 388–89.

9. In the Erfurt (1501–2) and Florence (1515) reprints of Aldus' *Introductio*, which represent the first appearance of Hebrew characters in these cities.

10. See Freimann's paper in *Zeitschrift für hebräische Bibliographie*, X, 32–36 and 79–88 (cf. pp. 188–89), where a chronological list of nearly 200 publications from Bomberg's press can be found.

NOTES OF BOOKS AND WORKERS

Sound Doctrine.—The first of a series of articles on "The Copy [in the technical, printer's sense] for 'Hamlet,' 1603," by J. Dover Wilson in "The Library" for July last, is postulated on certain assumptions that should be self-evident, but cannot be repeated too often in the existing status of bibliographical studies:

"The origin and condition of this copy (is) a problem not literary at all, but bibliographical. The First (and every) Quarto, in short, is a bibliographical fact."

"The bibliographical evidence, once established, will suggest new literary and dramatic clues. But here, as elsewhere in Shakespearian textual matters, bibliography is the first consideration. It is only when the bibliographer has done his work that the literary critic can hope to build with any permanence. For while literary judgments are notoriously as shifting as the sand, bibliography provides a foundation of rock—the rock of fact."

Mr. Stokes's Iconography.—It is doubtful whether anyone, within the limits of reasonable comparison, ever had more to show for ten years' devotion to a hobby than Mr. I. N. Phelps Stokes. The third volume of his "Iconography of Manhattan Island," issued in April, 1919, completes his survey of the history and development of New York City. Another volume of extracts,

chronology, bibliography, and index is to follow. The modest compilation which he proposed to prepare in May, 1909, because he had found it difficult to secure desired information about a map bought during the preceding summer, would have been a very useful work. The project grew in the handling into these volumes which are, by whatever test one chooses to apply, a master-work of scholarship. This list of views of New York is in reality the most readable, trustworthy narrative of the history of the American metropolis, and the most comprehensive compendium of details regarding its growth.

The specifically bibliographical section of this portion is the Check List of Early New York Newspapers, to 1812. Further notice of this can be made more satisfactorily when it can be compared with the corresponding portion of Mr. Brigham's "Bibliography of American Newspapers" which should appear in the "Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society" for next autumn. Aside from this, Mr. Stokes's pages are packed with bibliographical data concerning publications which in any respect impinge upon his topic. It was his very particular good fortune to enlist the enthusiastic co-operation of everyone with a single exception who possessed out-of-the-ordinary information which could be of use to him. The reason for this was unquestionably the enthusiasm and unsparing labor which Mr. Stokes put into his undertaking. The spirit with which he went about it is shown most clearly in his generous dedication

of the second volume to the only person who had rebuffed him. That volume, on the cartography of the northeast coast of America, supplements and completes Henry Harrisse's "Discovery" and "Terre Neuve," and to no one else could it so properly be dedicated. No personal reasons or considerations were allowed to interfere here or anywhere else in the work, with the doing of every bit of it as it should be done.

Another part of these volumes that should have an especial notice in this place is the Prefaces. In these Mr. Stokes tells, much too briefly and omitting most of the anecdotal details which ought to be put on record somewhere, of his interest in the subject, the inception of the undertaking, the growth of the compilation into a monumental digest of original research, the difficulties—lightly touched upon—overcome, and nothing of the great satisfaction and pride with which he and all who care for him must handle each volume as it appears. Mr. Stokes pays high tribute to his collaborators, expecially to Dr. F. C. Wieder of Amsterdam, whose researches made the second volume possible, and Mr. V. H. Paltsits of New York, without whose help its comprehensive, detailed accuracy could hardly have been achieved within reasonable limits of time, to Mr. H. N. Stevens of London, M. Henri Tropé in Paris, and a score of others. But the gratitude for their assistance leaves the reader no room for doubt that his was the guiding spirit and the controlling intelligence that mastered the subject and forced the conception to become a remarkable achievement. These

Prefaces tell of what is one of the most creditable, and most entertaining, episodes in the history of book collecting.

G. P. W.

Mrs. Browning.—Mr. Thomas J. Wise's latest Bibliography, that of "The Works of Elizabeth Barrett Browning," was published about the first of the New Year. It has the same format as the others of the series; is issued in paper boards as the Borrows, Bronté, and Wordsworth Bibliographies, and one hundred copies only were printed. The volume is exceedingly interesting because of the many facsimiles of title-pages, manuscripts, and particularly of letters of both Mrs. and Mr. Browning, their friends and their publishers, concerning her work. He also reproduces a number of the inscriptions in presentation copies of the various volumes.

Mrs. Browning's first book, "The Battle of Marathon," was published when she was about twelve years old. It is so rare that even in 1888, Mr. Browning doubted its existence. Her second book, "An Essay on Mind," was published when she was in her twentieth year.

Many of Mrs. Browning's poems appeared first in American newspapers and magazines. During her lifetime she revised and altered her verses with every edition, American as well as English. Mr. Wise is rather inclined to neglect these American editions in his Bibliographies. He does mention Mrs. Browning's "Poems, 1844," published in New York with the title, "A Drama

of Exile and Other Poems," which has not only a "Preface" written especially for it, but also many changes in the text. "Poems before Congress," 1860, was published in New York with the title "Napoleon III in Italy and Other Poems," with changes in the text. The copy in the Harvard Library has the inscription "June 15, 1860, The Gift of James Russell Lowell." "Aurora Leigh" has a note in the New York edition, signed by Mrs. Browning, and dated "Oct. 21, 1856." "The Last Poems," 1862, has a note for the edition printed in New York, signed by Robert Browning, dated February 20, 1862, as well as a "Publisher's Note," and "Memorial" to Elizabeth Barrett Browning by Theodore Tilton.

The question has been raised concerning the rank as a Browning *princeps* of the leaflet or little broadside "Only a Curl." The poem was originally printed in a newspaper, the "New York Independent," on May 16, 1861; the leaflet was printed the following June, 1861; and the poem was collected in the volume "Last Poems," 1862. If by *princeps* Mr. Wise means the absolutely first printing, then "The Independent" would be the *princeps*, and the leaflet, the second printing, is merely the first separately printed edition. Because it was unauthorized, would not alter its rank.

F. V. L.

A "Check List of Maps of Rhode Island" is No. V of Howard M. Chapin's "Contributions to Rhode Island Bibliography." It lists 185 maps, giving title, size, location of a copy, and occasionally notes.

"A Collection of Books about Cats."—This little book, as Mr. Percy L. Babington states in his prefatory note, is not a bibliography, but the account of a private collection and "therefore, reflects the taste of its compiler." It is clearly a task both difficult and delicate, to criticise a work of this character. The book is divided into two parts, the first dealing with books on domestic cats, in which thirty-seven titles are listed, and the second with books on the Felidae. The small number of books on domestic cats in the collection somewhat surprised me, when I compared it with my own library, which contains over two hundred titles on this subject. It is doubtless owing to the taste of the collector that all books in regard to the breeding, management, showing, medical care, and anatomy of cats, are omitted from the collection. But if the collection is rather of books which treat of cats for cats' sake, surprise may be pardoned at the discovery of the absence of any copy of the most popular, most widely read, and most reprinted cat story, Charles Perrault's "Le Chat botté," which is better known to most of us under its English title of "Puss in Boots." I have translations of this in Spanish, Russian, and Dutch, as well as in English.

The earliest cat book listed is Moncrif's "Les Chats," of 1727. Of course Straparola's "Soriana," of 1553, the literary ancestor of "Le Chat botté," might be excluded on account of its not having been issued as a separate publication. This objection could not apply to Vincioli's "Lezione di Cintio di Nico Gattafilota," of

1709, which certainly deserves a place in such a collection, as well as "La Miceide," of 1781. We look in vain for such French contributions as Mégnin's "Notre Ami le Chat," Ruffin's "Le Livre des Chats," and Percheron's "Le Chat;" for such important English works as Anne Marks' "The Cat in History, Legend, and Art," Mrs. Miller's "Cats and Dogs," and Strachey's "Cat and Bird Stories Retold from the Spectator."

The annotations are interesting to any collector of cat literature, but the book, as the "note" suggests, is an example rather of fine typography (it bears on its title page the device of Bruce Rogers and its colophon reads "printed by J. B. Peace") and of bookmaking, than a contribution to bibliography, or literature. As such, as well as a new, although too brief, cat book, it is very welcome on my shelves.

HOWARD M. CHAPIN

LISTS OF INCUNABULA.—One unexpected bit of information that has come from the work of compiling the "Census of Fifteenth Century Books Owned in America" is that the keenest and most intelligent collectors of these books in this country are physicians. Not only is the proportion of medical books listed in the "Census" high, but the owners of them have been, as a group, by far the best informed regarding their possessions and the most eager to render assistance.

This is quite true, despite the evidence afforded by two recent lists of the titles in a single collection, one

public and the other private. The Librarian of the Surgeon General's Library at Washington contributed to the first volume of the recently inaugurated, ably edited, and well printed "Annals of Medical History" a "Check List of 232 Incunabula" in that collection. This has been reprinted as a very attractive separate. It contains, not always in readily recognizable form, several important bits of new information due to the researches of Dr. Arnold C. Klebs who, as the preliminary note states, "has in preparation a bibliography of all medical incunabula."

In a collection of the great size of that which the late Dr. Billings made famous, it is not surprising to find that those directly responsible for its administration are unacquainted with all its resources. This is of course inevitable when the effort is made to find books which have come to be grouped under headings with which former custodians were unfamiliar. The idea of indexing the imprint of a book is still a novel one to most librarians, so that it can hardly be considered surprising that the Surgeon General's Check List does not include several titles which are to be found in the printed "Index Catalogue" of that collection. Luckily these had been reported to the "Census" a number of years ago, and are properly credited in its columns.

The eight incunabula belonging to Dr. Lewis Stephen Pilcher, of Brooklyn, constitute a section of minor importance in his library, of which he has printed "A List of Books by some of the Old Masters of Medicine

and Surgery together with Books on the History of Medicine and on Medical Biography, with Biographical and Bibliographical Notes and Reproductions of Some Title Pages and Captions." The books, and apparently also the notes, are the gradual accumulation of forty years. There is a consistent uncertainty about the spelling of proper names and the significance of technical terms which would be annoying in a work that pretended to be more than the memoranda of one who has risen to acknowledged rank in his profession, concerning the favorites of his hours of relaxation. The important sections of Dr. Pilcher's library contain the successive editions of the writings of Vesalius, of Ambrose Paré, and of Harvey.

The library of St. Bonaventure's Seminary at Allegany, N.Y., contains just under fifty fifteenth-century books. A list of these compiled by a graduate of 1917, M. F. Biniszkiewicz, without the help of bibliographical reference books, is printed in the Seminary's Year Book for 1918.

G. P. W.

Professor Chester N. Greenough's discussion of "Algernon Sidney and the Motto of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts," in the "Proceedings" of the Massachusetts Historical Society for February, 1918, embodies as an essential part of his argument, a description of the editions of Sidney's "Discourses concerning Government," 1698–1772. He also proves that copies of these editions, as well as many other similar works, were in Massachusetts libraries before the Revolution.

An Opportunity for Comparisons.—Bibliography is made responsible, by the editors of "The Cambridge History of American Literature," for the decision of the publishers to issue the proposed two-volume work in three volumes. In the second of these volumes there are 228 pages of "Bibliographies," used for the most part in the sense of lists of titles of books. These pages are set in small type crowded, in one case, into a single paragraph occupying four pages and made up largely of initial letters and figures. The actual amount of material in this portion of the volume must be quite as large as that in the preceding 409 pages of text intended to be read.

The very discouraging monotony of these pages of bibliographies conceals a wide variety of purpose, method and form in their preparation. Most of them are "frankly selective," mere lists, usually giving the date of the first, of the standard, and frequently of the cheapest or most easily procurable edition. Considerable notice has been taken of translations into European languages of things written in the United States. Rarely is there any attempt to appraise the value, as literature or as criticism, of the works cited, except as they may have been selected for discussion in the narrative chapters. As a whole, this part of the American work compares unfavorably with the corresponding sections of the "Cambridge English Literature." The obvious striving to attain to the English standard emphasizes the extent to which the American academic person is unaccustomed to appraise the books he handles intelligently, with any

appreciation of general standards, or with knowledge of the intellectual or the mechanical technique of making a good book.

There is a noticeable tendency to disregard things rare or inaccessible, except where these have been described in such a work as Miss Browne's "Hawthorne," "much used in the present compilation." This is not always true, for the last page records:

"Mother Goose. Worcester, 1785. Boston 1833. (Perhaps published as Songs for the Nursery. Boston, 1719.)"

"The New England Primer. *ca.* 1687–1690. (See the valuable ed. by Ford, P. L.,1897.)"

It is a matter of opinion whether such entries as these, or lists of "more important authors and their more important works," are necessary to balance the very useful lists of the publications by authors whose writings have not yet been investigated bibliographically. There are many such in the sections headed "Publicists and Orators," "Early Humorists," "Divines and Moralists," "The New South," "Dialect Writers," and "The Short Story." These lists ought to serve as a convenient basis upon which to construct something that should add materially to an understanding of the careers of these less generally known writers. Mr. Clapp's study of Webster, compared with the list prepared by Mr. Van Doren to which he pays well deserved tribute, reveals effectively the contribution which intelligent bibliographical investigation makes to purely literary knowledge.

The section on "Magazines and Annuals" is thoroughly workmanlike and informing, and gives evidence that the compiler did much with his material after gathering it. Asterisks guide the user to the more valuable articles, there are a few informing notes, and the list supplements instead of reprinting Mr. Faxon's "Literary Annuals and Gift Books."

G. P. W.

B. Franklin, Printer.—The Curtis Publishing Company reinforced their claim to descent from Benjamin Franklin by acquiring in 1915 the best collection of the publications bearing his imprint. A Catalogue has been prepared by Dr. William J. Campbell, of Philadelphia, the entries following closely the model of Hildeburn's "Issues of the Press of Pennsylvania," with the addition of a number of pertinent notes. Of much greater value than the Catalogue which occupies the larger part of the volume, is the appended "Short-Title Check List of all the Books, Pamphlets, Broadsides, &c., known to have been printed by Benjamin Franklin." The brief title is supplemented by a succinct collation and reference to Hildeburn, Tower, or Evans, and by notes when necessary to assist in identifying the title. There are 81 entries of works with which Franklin is supposed to have had some connection before he set up his own establishment, and 791 which bear, or might have had, his imprint. A few titles erroneously ascribed to him are given in footnotes. Besides the ordinary publications,

issues of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware currency printed by Franklin, and the issues of his Gazette, are listed in convenient form each by itself. An account of Franklin as a printer, both readable and biographically accurate, is the introduction to the volume.

A Polyglot Volume.—The principal contents of the "Papers and Proceedings" of the American Library Institute for 1917 are, in order of length, a study of "The Greek Evangelistary" as illustrated by a manuscript belonging to the Garrett Collection in the Princeton Library, a reprint of the German text of an account of excavations of the Hittite archives dated about 1400 B.C., supplementing Dr. Richardson's very illuminating essays in the field of the earliest annals of book collecting and book preserving, and a collation of the copy of "De arca Noe," written by Hugo de Sancto Victore, found in one of the Garrett manuscripts. Of the other papers, those of particular value are Mr. Shearer's "Notes on the Issues of the Journal of the Pennsylvania Assembly, 1776–1790," and Mr. Gerould's finding list of the Roxburghe Club publications in American libraries. It is much to be wished that Mr. Gerould's list may be the beginning of a series of similar reports on the whereabouts of the various volumes of the more confusing serials listed by Dr. Richardson in his "Check List of Collections Relating to European History," which that invaluable work has brought within the reach of students in this country. There is also a suggestive

paper based on experiments conducted at the Princeton Psychological Laboratory "in order to ascertain what arrangement of figures, or letters, or figures and letters, or figures and decimal points, etc., may be read the more easily." The examination of this volume tempts a critical reader to wonder whether the psychologists have also tried to analyze the effect, upon all concerned, of attempting to peruse a learned publication in which there are a great many misprints.

G. P. W.

An Early "Best-Seller."—M. Foulché Delbosc prints in his "Revue Hispanique," vol. xlii, a bibliography of Mateo Aleman, whose residence in Mexico from 1609 to 1613, and the important editions of his books printed there, give him an American interest. Aleman's "Guzman de Alfarache" was the great success of the years 1599–1604, going through 26 editions and reaching, according to report, 50,000 copies. It was ten years before it was printed again; Don Quixote came out in 1605!

The preceding issue of the same Revue, for April, 1918, is occupied by a bibliography of a type in which the Spanish excel; a chronological list, about 5 titles to the page, of books or editions printed outside the Spanish dominions, of works written by authors native to the Peninsula. A detailed analysis of these considerably over 1200 titles ought to yield thoroughly profitable results, but the attempt to glean anything significant by a cursory examination of the pages as they come, is tantalizingly unprofitable.

G. P. W.

Mrs. Livingston's Stevenson.—The late Luther S. Livingston was a striking instance of the close relationship of hard work to genius. Those who knew him intimately knew also that the vast amount of very hard work which he put to his credit was in no small measure made possible by the collaboration of Mrs. Livingston, who was in the truest sense his helpmate. She has continued to devote herself to their mutual interests, among which Stevenson had a place near the top.

When the need of revising Col. Prideaux's bibliography became evident, the English publisher most naturally appealed to Mrs. Livingston, with gratifying results. The Harry Elkins Widener Stevenson collection, which is under her care, gave exceptional opportunities, and these were supplemented by the resources of the Harvard library and by correspondence with Stevenson collectors. The new edition not only embodies the information which Dr. Rosenbach brought out in his monumental Catalogue of the Widener Stevensoniana, and such additional facts as have appeared in subsequent publications, but there are also a number of details made known here for the first time, resulting from the comparison of copies and the verification of statements.

Recorded versus Lost Titles.—A question repeatedly asked, and never satisfactorily answered, concerns the proportion of the total output of the press in times past, that survives, either in private collections, public libraries, or bibliographical records. Various guesses

at the answer are of as various value, depending partly upon the answerer's acquaintance with the subject, but quite as much upon his temperamental attitude toward the unknowable factors. The only thing that seems to be certain is that the answers deserving of consideration are always well below the real number.

An opportunity to get actual information in regard to this matter is supplied by the Acorn Club's "List of Official Publications of Connecticut, 1774–1788, as shown by the bills for printing." This gives, ordinarily in readily recognizable form, the printing that the Connecticut government paid for during this period, and is complete provided that none of the receipted bills have been mislaid. This is possible, for the "List" does not record any payment that can be identified with two separately printed acts of December, 1775, or for the regular issue of the "Acts and Laws" for the sessions held in May and in August, 1777. What is more important is that each of the items known to have been paid for, was printed. These number, for the years 1775, 1776, and 1777, respectively, 34, 74, and 53. Of these totals, a considerable proportion, 11, 29, and 16, consisted of blank forms, such as enlistment sheets, commissions, warrants, of paper money and similar necessities, which enable printers to make a living but which are not often taken into consideration by bibliographers or by the historians of printing.

It is much to be regretted that the editor, Mr. Bates of the Connecticut Historical Society, did not undertake, as he alone could have done satisfactorily,

to identify the several items and locate copies of them. The large majority are broadsides, nearly all are scarce, and as a whole they have great historical as well as bibliographical interest. As Mr. Bates did not do this, the next best thing is to compare the data supplied by this publication with that of the recognized standard, Evans' "Chronological Dictionary." For the years in question, Evans has 852, 590, and 487 entries of titles printed in what is now the United States. To official Connecticut are credited—including a few titles paid for by legislative order but properly listed under other headings—13, 28, and 19. Omitting the 3 titles for which no record of payment appears, Evans, whose work went to press after the publication of the Acorn Club edition of Trumbull's "Bibliography of Connecticut," has 60 of the 105 issues of the official Connecticut press for these years. There is no apparent reason for thinking that this ratio to unrecorded titles would not apply to the remainder of the 25,074 entries in Evans, dated in this part of America before 1793. The chances may be supposed to favor the preservation and cataloguing of official publications of a state like Connecticut.

The bills enabled Mr. Bates to give in most instances the number of copies printed, ranging from 48 to 1100, the regular edition for each session of the Laws, or 5400 for a single run of "Inlistments." The date on the bills seems to be usually that when the job was done. This is frequently a fact of bibliographical consequence, establishing, for example, that the printing of the separate

acts and of proclamations was done promptly, and that the practice of crediting publications with a late December date to the ensuing year is not justified. A number of the Evans titles appear in the wrong place, for this reason. The bills show likewise that many of the unsigned publications have not been credited to the printer who was paid for them.

G. P. W.

Nineteen publications written by William Loughton Smith of South Carolina, all but four of which appeared in 1792–97, are described by Albert Matthews in the "Proceedings" of the Massachusetts Historical Society for October, 1917.

Mr. Lee M. Friedman contributes to the Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society an account of Judah Monis, the first instructor in Hebrew at Harvard University, which is largely devoted to the incidents connected with the publication of Monis' "Hebrew Grammar," Boston, 1735. The broadside announcement, "Proposals for Printing by Subscription a Hebrew Grammar," inviting subscriptions to the same, is reproduced in facsimile.